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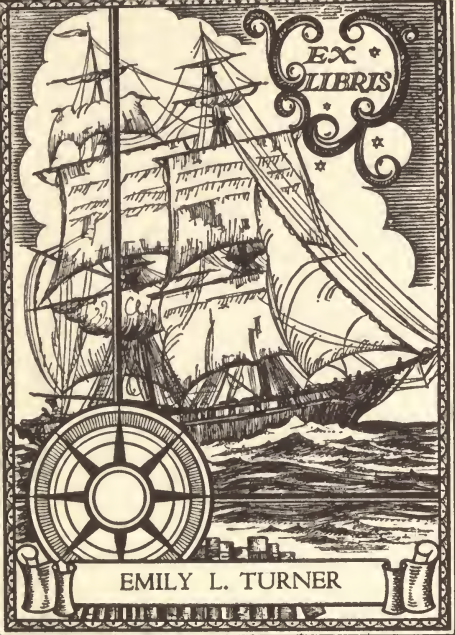
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AMERICAN HISTORY

by

Jacob Abbott.

ILLUSTRATED
WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. V.
WARS OF THE COLONIES.

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ABBOTT'S AMERICAN HISTORIES.

- I.—*ABORIGINAL AMERICA.*
- II.—*DISCOVERY OF AMERICA*
- III.—*THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.*
- IV.—*THE NORTHERN COLONIES.*
- V.—*WARS OF THE COLONIES.*
- VI.—*REVOLT OF THE COLONIES.*
- VII.—*WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.*
- VIII.—*WASHINGTON.*

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P R E F A C E

It is the design of this work to narrate, in a clear, simple, and intelligible manner, the leading events connected with the history of our country, from the earliest periods, down, as nearly as practicable, to the present time. The several volumes will be illustrated with all necessary maps and with numerous engravings, and the work is intended to comprise, in a distinct and connected narrative, all that it is essential for the general reader to understand in respect to the subject of it, while for those who have time for more extended studies, it may serve as an introduction to other and more copious sources of information.

The author hopes also that the work may be found useful to the young, in awakening in their minds an interest in the history of their country,

and a desire for further instruction in respect to it. While it is doubtless true that such a subject can be really grasped only by minds in some degree mature, still the author believes that many young persons, especially such as are intelligent and thoughtful in disposition and character, may derive both entertainment and instruction from a perusal of these pages.

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WARS OF THE COLONIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.

SUBJECT OF THE VOLUME.

The time required for the complete occupation of the Atlantic sea-board of North America by emigrants from Europe, and the final organization and settlement of all the communities thus formed, as colonies subject to the British crown, may be considered as extending over a period of about fifty years. The commencement of the settlements took place between 1610 and 1620, and it was not until between 1660 and 1670 that New Amsterdam was taken from the Dutch, and the organization of the whole territory under British rule was completely effected.

The duration of the colonial system thus established—extending as it did from the period of its complete organization, in or near 1670, to the time when the differences with the mother country

which terminated in the revolution first began to grow serious, which was about 1770,—may be considered as occupying a period of about one hundred years. It is the general history of this second period, and especially of the wars and commotions which occurred in the course of it, to interrupt the peaceful avocations of the settlers, and impede the progress of the colonies in wealth and population, which forms the subject of the present volume.

NUMBER OF THE COLONIES.

The number of colonies as finally and permanently organized was thirteen. The following is a list of them, with date of the first settlement of each :

Virginia	1607
New-York	1614
Massachusetts	1620
New Hampshire	1623
New Jersey	1624
Delaware	1627
Maryland	1633
Connecticut	1635
Rhode Island	1635
North Carolina	1650
South Carolina	1670
Pennsylvania	1682
Georgia	1733

It will be seen by the above table that the first settlement of all these colonies is not strictly comprised within the limit of the fifty years above referred to, Virginia having been occupied a few years before the commencement of it, and Pennsylvania and Georgia not until after the close of it. We can, however, say in general terms that the original colonization of the country occupied about fifty years, and that the colonial condition thus established endured afterward for about a hundred years.

RECAPITULATION.

Before entering upon the history of this latter period, it will be well to enumerate these colonies once more, and briefly to recapitulate the circumstances under which they were severally founded, and the condition they were in at the time when the narratives of the present volume begin.

VIRGINIA, 1607.

The first settlement was made by a somewhat wild company of adventurers under the leadership of the celebrated John Smith, who is called the father of Virginia. Smith was induced to embark in the undertaking by the representations of Gosnold, who had previously made a voyage to the coast of New England, and had attempted unsuc-

cessfully to found a colony there. Gosnold accompanied Smith in the expedition to Virginia. The first settlement was at Jamestown. The colonists encountered very great difficulties for the first few years. They quarrelled among themselves and they quarrelled with the Indians around them, and the whole colony was repeatedly reduced to the greatest extremity for want of food. At one time the little remnant that was left actually embarked for England but they were met, on the way down the river, by vessels coming in with supplies, and were persuaded to return.

At length, however, the colony began to take root, and the settlement extended beyond Jamestown to various points on the banks of the neighboring rivers.

In a very short time after the first settlement of the colony, a Dutch vessel came in bringing about twenty African slaves, which were sold to some of the wealthy colonists. This was the origin of the vast system of American slavery, which has since been the cause of so much sorrow and crime.

Notwithstanding the sowing of this terrible seed, however, the colony increased and prospered. It was ruled by a governor appointed by the British crown, and by a legislative assembly elected by the people.

NEW YORK, 1614.

There was a dispute from the very commencement, between the English and Dutch governors, in respect to the right to establish colonies at the mouth of the Hudson river. Sebastian Cabot, who was an English navigator, first explored the general line of the coast, while Hendrick Hudson, who, as the Dutch claimed, was then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, was the discoverer of the river, and the first to enter it. The Dutch Company were at that time often sending expeditions to the American coast, to fish for cod along the shores, and to buy furs and skins of the Indians, and at last they began to build huts on the land at the mouth of the Hudson. The English government denied their right to do this and remonstrated with the Dutch government, and many negotiations and much discussion ensued. Nothing was, however, positively settled, and in the meantime the Dutch settlement, which was called New Amsterdam, increased and gradually became a flourishing colony, which extended far into the interior and along the coasts of Long Island sound, and thence up the Connecticut river, where at length their outposts came into collision with branches of the Massachusetts colonies, which likewise by this time had begun to extend into the

Connecticut region, and to form considerable settlements there.

A great deal of difficulty grew out of these collisions, but still the English government were unable to restrain the New Amsterdam colony without going to war with Holland, which for a long time it would have been impolitic for them to do. At length, however, the state of things in Europe changed so that the objections on the part of the English to a war with Holland were removed, and then the whole country of the Hudson was granted formally to the Duke of York, and he was authorized to fit out an armed force to go and take possession of it. This he accordingly did. The Dutch governor, when the English ships appeared, found that he had not force enough to resist them, especially as the people of the colony, consisting as they did in a large proportion of English settlers, seemed not at all disposed to aid him. He accordingly surrendered, and with the troops under his command embarked for Holland; and thus the colony with all its dependencies was transferred to the English crown. The name of the chief settlement was changed at the same time from New Amsterdam to New York, in honor of the duke to whom the territory had been granted. This name it has ever since retained.

MASSACHUSETTS, 1620.

The first settlement made in the territory, now included within the limits of the state of Massachusetts, was that of Plymouth, which was established by a company of religious men, the members principally of a church which had been driven from England some years before, and had taken refuge for a time in Holland, but had at length determined to emigrate to America in order to found an entirely new State, in which they might be at liberty to carry out in full their religious views without any hinderance or restraint. They came out in a vessel called the Mayflower—about one hundred in number—and after undergoing indescribable hardships and privations, they finally, in the course of a few years, succeeded in establishing a flourishing colony.

In the meanwhile many hunting and trading expeditions were sent out from time to time to the coast of New England from Great Britain, and various landings were made at different points in Massachusetts Bay. The parties engaged in these enterprises at length combined their interests and founded what was called the colony of Massachusetts Bay—the seat of which was the country in the vicinity of Boston. These new settlements soon began to surpass the Plymouth colony in population

and wealth. The two communities, however, remained distinct from each other for more than half a century, but at length, in 1692, they were united under a new charter granted by the English government, and the colony of Massachusetts was thus finally organized.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1623.

The first permanent settlement in New Hampshire was founded by Ferdinando Gorges, in 1623. Gorges was a celebrated merchant adventurer and navigator in those days, and he had been for several years before this time interested in expeditions to the northern part of the North American coast. The principal object of these expeditions was the exploring of the harbors, bays, and river-mouths along the coast, with a view to finding convenient stations for those engaged in the cod fishery, and also for buying corn and other provisions of the Indians for the use of the fishermen, and furs and skins to take home to England. The fur-bearing animals in all this region, which was at that time almost an unbroken forest, were extremely numerous, and on account of the length of the winters and the severity of the cold the furs which they bore were very fine and full, and of excellent quality.

Gorges accordingly, and other adventurers of this class, undertook frequent voyages to these coasts, and in the course of them made many temporary encampments on the land, and even attempted permanent settlements in some cases. One was commenced at the mouth of the Kennebec, in what is now the state of Maine, but it did not succeed. At length in 1622, Gorges, in company with a personage named John Mason whom he associated with him, obtained from the Plymouth Company—which was a company composed of wealthy English merchants and other persons of distinction in England, who had obtained from the government the right of control over all attempts at establishing settlements on any part of the coast of New England—a grant of that portion of the territory lying between the Merrimac and the Kennebec, and in the following year, that is in 1623, they sent over a company of colonists who entered the river Piscataqua, and made a settlement on the banks of that river, near where the town of Portsmouth now stands.

After this, other settlements were made within this district, particularly one at Saco and another at Portland. After a few years, however, the territory was divided into two provinces. The western part was assigned to Mason, and he gave

to it the name of New Hampshire, in honor of his native county in England. Gorges, who took the eastern half, named his for the same reason New Somersetshire. The government of this latter province was afterward transferred to Massachusetts, and the name was changed to Maine. The province of Maine accordingly did not constitute a separate colony, but remained united with Massachusetts till long after the revolution.

The district assigned to Mason, which received the name of New Hampshire, became at once an independent colony, and settlements branching from it spread rapidly into the interior.

NEW JERSEY, 1624.

The territory of New Jersey, as will be seen by the map, lies closely contiguous to New York, and, as might naturally be supposed, the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson, as soon as it became firmly established and began to spread into the interior, sent out branches in this direction as well as in others. It was about the year 1624 that the first permanent occupation of the soil of New Jersey took place. A few years afterward a company from Sweden and Finland came over and founded a more extended settlement on the banks of the Delaware, having purchased a large tract of



land from the Indians for this purpose. When, at length, New Amsterdam was taken by the English, all these settlements, as well as those on the Hudson, fell into the hands of the Duke of York, the whole territory having been granted to the duke by his brother the king.

The territory now forming the state of New Jersey was afterward granted by the Duke of York to other proprietors, having first, however, been divided into two portions, which were called East Jersey and West Jersey. The whole region was

often designated as "The Jerseys," even down to quite recent times. The government of the two Jerseys passed through a great many changes, and was all the time more or less dependent upon that of New York, for nearly a hundred years. But at length the two provinces were united and constituted into a distinct and independent colony under the name of New Jersey.

DELAWARE, 1627.

The state of Delaware takes its name from Lord de la Ware, who was one of the earliest governors of Virginia. In one of the expeditions which he made along the coast he discovered and entered the great bay lying north of the Chesapeake and gave it his name. The relative situation of the two bays will be seen by the map on the preceding page. There were several attempts made after this to settle the country, one for example by the Dutch, and another, more successful, by the Swedes and Fins. The colony established by these last was known for a time by the name of New Sweden, and the settlements extended into the territory now belonging to Pennsylvania. The Dutch remonstrated against the right of the Swedes to occupy this country, and after a time hostilities broke out between the Swedish colony and that of the Dutch at

New Amsterdam. In the end the Swedes were beaten, and all the settlers who would not transfer their allegiance to the conquerors were sent back to Europe.

When, at length, New Amsterdam and with it the whole domain of the Dutch in North America fell into the hands of the English, and after some delay and many disputes among the different proprietors who claimed under grants from the Duke of York and from the English government, in respect to their several boundaries, the colony of Delaware was at length definitely organized and established. For many years, however, it was attached to Pennsylvania, and was under a common government with that colony, as will appear more fully in the sequel.

MARYLAND, 1633.

The territory surrounding the head-waters of Chesapeake Bay was granted by King Charles I. to George Calvert, Lord of Baltimore, which was an Irish title. He was a Roman Catholic, and a man of considerable wealth and distinction. He first attempted to establish a settlement in Newfoundland, and expended a large sum of money in the undertaking, but at length his little colony was taken from him by the French, and King Charles,

by way of compensating him for his loss, made him this grant of the territory around the head waters of the Chesapeake.

He himself died before he could make arrangements for settling his new domain, and, indeed, before all the formalities of the grant were properly fulfilled, but his brother, Cecil Calvert, inherited his titles and estates, and the grant was finally completed in his name. He immediately took measures for sending out a colony. He was a Roman Catholic like his brother, but had evinced a very liberal spirit in laying the foundations of the future state, for the rights of citizenship and eligibility to office were extended to all christians of every denomination without distinction. Still nearly all of the first party of colonists were of the same persuasion with himself, and many of the principal families of the state and a large proportion of the population remain of that faith to the present day.

The first company of colonists consisted of about two hundred persons. Lord Baltimore did not come out himself with this colony, but sent a third brother, Leonard Calvert, whom he appointed governor. The name Maryland was given to the colony in honor of the queen of Charles I, whose name was Henrietta Maria.

The Baltimore family held and exercised a species

of sovereignty over the colony down to the period of the revolution. The representative of the family for the time being, appointed the governors and approved or disapproved all laws passed by the assembly.

CONNECTICUT, 1635.

There were two colonies originally established in Connecticut which were for some years entirely independent of each other. The first was formed by a company of emigrants from Boston and the vicinity, who went across the country to the westward until they reached the Connecticut river, and there laid the foundations of the towns of Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford. The Dutch from New Amsterdam had previously built forts and trading houses on the river, and the conflicting claims of the Dutch and the English to the possession of the territory led to much dispute and dissension, which continued for several years, and was not finally determined until New Amsterdam was taken by the expedition sent out by the Duke of York, and the claims and pretensions of the Dutch in respect to the whole country were extinguished forever.

The other Connecticut colony was established at New Haven. The first settlers were a party of

emigrants from England, who came out under the charge of two ministers, and their special object was to establish a civil community on a plan of the most strict and literal conformity with the pattern set up, as they supposed, for the imitation of mankind, in the holy scriptures. They accordingly made the laws of Moses the basis of their system, and followed them as closely as possible in the enactments which they made for their new state. This system was for a while very strictly persisted in, but after a time it was gradually changed for one more consonant to the ideas and the wants of the present day.

The two Connecticut colonies remained separate and distinct for a number of years. The one was called the colony of Connecticut and the other the colony of New Haven. The colony of Connecticut at length in 1665 sent out an agent to England to procure a charter from the king, not being satisfied with the tenure on which they had up to that time held their territory and jurisdiction. This agent was Mr. Winthrop. He happened to have in his possession a remarkable ring which was given to his grandmother by Charles I. Charles II. was then upon the throne, and Winthrop, pending his negotiations for a charter, gave the king this ring. The king, who was a very gay and frivolous man, was

so much pleased with the ring that he at once granted the charter, and included within it the colony of New Haven; and thus the colony of Connecticut was definitively organized under the form which it continued to retain down to the Revolution.

RHODE ISLAND, 1635.

The first settlement of Rhode Island was the result of a religious dissension in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The leader of the dissentients was Roger Williams, a minister of great ability and of very ardent piety, but so extremely decided and so uncompromising in his views, that wherever he went his ministrations soon had the effect of raising up a party opposed to the general sentiment of the community on certain points both of theology and of government; and the views which he and his followers maintained were advanced by them in so aggressive a spirit as to lead to the most violent and angry discussions. There is no doubt that Roger Williams was perfectly honest and conscientious in taking this course, while on the other hand, the church authorities in the various towns where he preached, and the magistrates of the colony were perhaps equally conscientious in opposing him. After a long contention and much

difficulty Roger Williams was brought to trial, and a sentence of banishment was passed upon him. The intention of the magistrates was to send him to England, but he contrived to escape into the interior of the country and thus to evade their design. He spent the winter among the Indians, and in the spring found his way across Narragansett Bay, and there being joined by a number of his followers from the different towns where he had preached, he laid the foundations of Providence. This was in 1635.

A very few years later another party left Massachusetts under somewhat similar circumstances, and settled on the island in Narragansett Bay, known as Rhode Island. These two settlements remained for a long time distinct, and were known respectively as the *Providence and the Rhode Island Plantations*. At length, during the reign of Charles II., a charter was granted, which included the whole territory under one jurisdiction, and which continued in force as the only written constitution, first of the colony and afterward of the state, down to a very recent period.

NORTH CAROLINA, 1650.

The very first attempts of any European power to establish colonies in North America were made

on the coast of North Carolina, which was then included with all the territory south of it, to the Gulf of Mexico, under the name of Florida. These attempts were made in 1586 and 1587. A colony was left on the River Roanoke, but when the place was next visited by European ships no remains of the settlement and no traces of the fate of the colonists could be found. The first *permanent* settlement was made in 1650 by a party of emigrants from Virginia, who were induced to leave the mother colony by religious dissensions which there occurred.

In 1661, ten years after the Virginia party entered the territory, a company from Massachusetts arrived, and established a settlement on the banks of Cape Fear River. The settlers had a great deal of difficulty with the Proprietors as they were called, that is wealthy and powerful men in England who claimed to hold the whole territory under grants from the English kings, and at one time these proprietors attempted to introduce the English aristocratic system of government over the colony by means of an artificial imitation of the feudal nobility of Europe. The whole plan, however, completely failed, and in the end the English government bought out the proprietary interest, and the colony came from that time under the con-

trol of the crown, and it remained in that condition until the revolution.

SOUTH CAROLINA, 1670

Although the territory of South Carolina at the present day far surpasses that lying immediately to the northward of it, both in wealth and population, it was not occupied by European settlers until a much later period. The wealth of North Carolina depends chiefly upon the vast forests of pine which occupy the ground there, and which produce immense quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, resin, and other such products, greatly in demand throughout the world for ship-building and other purposes connected with the mechanic arts. The soil of *South* Carolina, on the other hand, consisting as it does in great part of low and rich alluvial tracts, bordering the rivers and the sea, produces at the present day vast quantities of cotton and rice, which are far more valuable than the forest products of the North Carolina plains.

The value of these lands, however, for such purposes, was not at all understood in those early days, and thus the territory, though really more valuable, was long neglected, partly doubtless on account of its being more remote from the mother colony of the south, namely Virginia.

It was not until 1670, more than fifty years after the first settlement was made in Virginia, that any attempt was made to take possession of what is now the territory of South Carolina. A small party from England under the leadership of William Sayle, arrived during that year on the coast, and made choice of the harbor of Port Royal for their first settlement. They continued to occupy the lands in that vicinity for some years, though their numbers were gradually reduced by sickness and want until at length, in 1680, those that remained concluded to abandon that locality, and to remove to a point of land at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where they commenced a settlement and laid the foundations of the present city of Charleston.

For a time these settlers were left pretty much to themselves, but the whole country which is now comprised within the limits of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia had been granted twenty years before by the king to one of the English nobles, Lord Clarendon, and his agents soon after this organized a provincial government over the whole district within which settlements had yet been commenced, the whole district being designated as Carolina. This was a name which had been given to that part of the coast some years before by

the French, in honor of the then reigning French monarch, whose name was Charles.

Thus North and South Carolina were for a long time one. It was not until 1719, in fact, that they were separated.

The cultivation of rice, now one of the most important staples of the country, was first introduced by one of the governors of the colony, who had the sagacity to perceive how well adapted the low and marshy districts which abound on the coast were to the cultivation of that plant. Indeed, there was a species of wild rice, which was much used by the Indians, that was indigenous to the country, and had grown there from time immemorial. Cotton was also introduced, but cotton was in those days of comparatively little value for want of some easy mode of separating the fibres from the seed. The object of the cotton fibre, according to the intentions of nature, would appear to be, like that of the down upon the thistle, or the little parachute attached to the dandelion seed, to assist in conveying the seed, by the help of the winds, away from the parent plant to some place where it might have room to grow. Of course, as it has thus to carry the seed it is firmly attached to it, and the separation of it, in order to get the fibre by itself for the purpose of manufacture, was always a matter of

great difficulty until, at length, the cotton *gin* was invented, a simple machine by which vast quantities of the fibres and seeds are separated from each other in a very rapid and easy manner.

This discovery made the cultivation of the cotton plant an eager object of pursuit in every country where it would grow, and has vastly increased the wealth and population of the cotton growing states of America, among which South Carolina has taken a very prominent position.

PENNSYLVANIA, 1682.

The case of Pennsylvania furnishes another example of a colony, the settlement of which was long delayed, but which afterward attained a very high rank among her sisters, both in wealth and population. The chief reason why this territory remained so long unoccupied seems to have been that it lies in the interior, and is thus not so easily accessible from sea. The parties of Swedes and Finns that have already been spoken of as having attempted to colonize the shores of Delaware Bay and river, in the territory now comprised within the limits of the states of Delaware and New Jersey, perhaps extended their settlements in some degree into what is now Pennsylvania, but there was no fixed and permanent occupation of the soil

until the year 1682, when King Charles II. granted the whole tract to William Penn, in payment of a debt due to Penn's father.

William Penn belonged to a family of considerable distinction, his father having been an admiral in the royal navy, and yet his object in obtaining this grant was very similar in its nature, to that of the poor Pilgrims who planned the settlement at Plymouth sixty years before, namely to escape from religious persecution, and to found a community where men of his persuasion, namely, that of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, could carry out their religious ideas, both in respect to faith and to practice, without hinderance or molestation.

Penn himself had suffered a great deal from persecution in the course of his life. He joined the Society of Friends when he was quite young. One of the preachers of that persuasion said to him one day, in reference to the trials which he, that is Penn, was suffering on account of his religious views, "There is a faith which overcome the world and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." This sentiment made a very strong impression on Penn's mind, and he resolved that *his* faith should be of the conquering and not of the conquered kind. He suffered a great deal both

from his family and from the government. His father, who seems to have been as blunt and rough as sailors are generally supposed to be, turned him out of doors several times, and he was repeatedly imprisoned by the public authorities. He bore all, however, with so patient and submissive a spirit that he vanquished his enemies in the end, and came at last to be universally respected and esteemed. His father became fully reconciled to him before he died. He left him a large fortune, and took leave of him with these words, "Son William, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience. So will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in the day of trouble."

The general estimation in which Penn was held at this time of his life was such that when he began to take measures for founding his colony, the public was prepared to regard any proposals which he might make with great favor. The proposals themselves too, which he did make, were such as greatly to increase the public confidence in his enterprise. He drew up what he called the FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTION of Pennsylvania; and also a FRAME OF GOVERNMENT, in which were embodied the plans and principles on which the new colony was to be founded. The constitution allowed the utmost liberty of conscience in respect to religious faith

and worship, and in all other respects was conceived in a very liberal spirit. A large number of families were ready to join the first expedition, which, after crossing the Atlantic, landed on the shores of the Delaware and laid the foundation of Philadelphia.

Penn himself visited his colony soon afterward and made very excellent arrangements while there to promote the prosperity of the settlements, and the welfare and happiness of the people. The policy which he pursued in respect to the Indian title to the land was not only just but generous, since notwithstanding his grant from the king he would occupy no land until he had first paid the natives a full price for it, according to their estimate of its value for their purposes. In consequence of his pursuing this course, and his inducing the settlers to act on the same principles in all their dealings with the Indians, the colony lived at peace with the natives for many years, while other settlements, both to the northward and southward, were often reduced to the extreme of suffering and distress by Indian wars, and by the ravages of fire and sword and the bloody massacres to which they led.

The colony grew very rapidly in wealth and population, and it remained subject to the proprie-

tary interest which the Penn family held in it until the Revolution.

GEORGIA, 1733

The case of Georgia is somewhat similar to that of South Carolina, that is, although in later times, it became one of the wealthiest and most powerful states, on account of the productiveness of portions of the soil, for the great staples of rice and cotton, the original settlement of it was long delayed. It was, in fact, the very last of the colonies founded by the English on the American coast. The reason of this delay was partly owing to the remoteness of the territory from the parent southern colony on the Chesapeake, and partly on account of the exposure of the territory to incursions from the Spaniards who then held Florida, and who claimed that what is now Georgia was included within the limits of the territory which rightfully belonged to them.

At length, however, in 1733 King George II. made a grant of the country to James Oglethorpe, who came over with a company of forty followers and laid the foundations of the city of Savannah. Afterward other companies of emigrants came, and the colony went on very prosperously. It remained under the proprietorship of the Oglethrope family

for many years, but at length the jurisdiction thus exercised was ceded to the crown.

THE THREE FORMS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Such, in brief, were the circumstances connected with the first settlement and early history of the original thirteen colonies from which the American Union was ultimately formed. These colonies were nearly all in successful operation before the close of the seventeenth century. They were alike in respect to being chiefly peopled from Great Britain, and in being subject to the sovereignty of the British crown. They were very unlike, however, in respect to the system of local government which was established over them. They formed, in respect to the character of this government, three classes, namely, the *Charter* Colonies, the *Royal* Colonies, and the *Proprietary* Colonies.

THE CHARTER COLONIES.

The government of these colonies was administered by the colonists themselves, under grants of jurisdiction called *charters*, which were bestowed by the English government. The New England colonies were all of this class. The people chose their own governors, elected their own legislatures,

and enacted their own laws—subject in the main only to a general obligation of allegiance to the British sovereign, and even this obligation seems to have been sometimes very lightly felt.

THE ROYAL COLONIES.

This class of colonies pertained directly to the British crown, and while they elected their own local legislatures, the governors and other important executive officers were appointed by the king of England. Hence this name of Royal Colonies. Virginia, New York, North and South Carolina and New Jersey were of this class. Under this system, as might have been expected, many differences and dissensions arose, for the governors being appointed in England and acting under instructions from the English ministry, or from the king, and having a veto on the legislation of the local assemblies, often found themselves compelled to act in opposition to public sentiment in the colonies, and this gave rise in many cases to violent and sometimes to long protracted disputes. These disputes and difficulties grew more and more serious as time rolled on, and the colonies increased in wealth and power, until, at last, after the lapse of a hundred years, they culminated in the American Revolution.

THE PROPRIETARY COLONIES.

These were the colonies established by wealthy proprietors to whom grants of territory, *with the jurisdiction included*, had been made by the crown. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and at first North and South Carolina, and East and West Jersey were of this class. This system, however, worked very disadvantageously. The proprietors, under the grants of jurisdiction over their several territories which had been made to them, claimed the right to frame the system of government, and to appoint the chief executive officers, and even to control the legislation. While the settlements in any colony were small, and the people few, they would submit to this, but as soon as the community of settlers began to increase in numbers and wealth, they began to feel their power, and to grow very restive under this domination. It was hard enough for the people of the Royal colonies to submit to this sort of surveillance and control, even from the king,—but for the people of the Proprietary colonies, to be thus ruled over by a private family living three thousand miles away, was intolerable. After struggling along through these difficulties for some years, four of the six Proprietary colonies, namely, the two Carolinas and the two Jerseys, were transferred to the crown, and only

Maryland and Pennsylvania remained in that condition. The proprietary rights of the Penn and Baltimore families continued undisturbed over these until the Revolution.

CHAPTER II

THE PEQUOT WAR.

THE CONNECTICUT INDIANS.

THE scene of the first serious Indian war in which any of the New England colonies were engaged, was Connecticut, and the Indian tribe with which the settlers came in conflict were the Pequots.

The territory now included within the limits of Connecticut and Rhode Island was occupied in those days by a great number of tribes that were in some sense distinct, though more or less connected with each other by intermarriages among the sachems, and by alliances and leagues of various kinds. These tribes in general lived peaceably, each in its own domain, the people being contented with the plain but honest livelihood which they could obtain through the labors of the men in hunting and fishing, and those of the women and older children in cultivating fields of Indian corn

THE NARRAGANSETTS.

The most wealthy, populous and powerful of these tribes were the Narragansetts. They occupied, as might be inferred from their name, the country about the shores of Narragansett Bay, and the various inlets, sounds and rivers that communicate with it. The soil of their country was fertile, and the waters were very prolific in fish of every kind. So they obtained subsistence easily by peaceful and honest pursuits, and the necessity of devising nets and hooks and other tackle for taking fish, and of making canoes for navigating their waters, and of fabricating weapons for the chase, so stimulated their ingenuity that they seem to have made more progress in such rude arts as Indians can practice than most of the other tribes, and the population which their country supported, in proportion to its extent, was greater than that of the others. In a word, the Narragansett nation was the representative of civilization, refinement and wealth, so far as such marks of progress could have any representative among nations of savages.

THE PEQUOTS.

The Pequot Indians seem to have occupied the other extreme of the scale. They were a wild, warlike and desperate race. It has been supposed

by some writers that they had not been long in Connecticut at the time when it was first settled by the English, but that they came, some few years before, from their original home on the Hudson, through the Housatonic country into that of Connecticut, fighting their way through and among the native tribes that came in their way, until at last they were brought to a stand by arriving at the frontier of the Narragansett country. They accordingly proceeded no farther, but settled down where they were, thus occupying the territory extending along the coast from the mouth of the Connecticut to the neighborhood of the shores of Narragansett Bay.

At any rate, however they came there, there they were when the Dutch and English settlements began to be formed in that country, and all the tribes around them hated and feared them. There was a standing feud between them and the Narragansetts, and the tribes on the Connecticut above them lived in a constant state of uneasiness on account of them. Indeed, it was in consequence of their apprehensions in respect to these Pequots that certain Indian tribes made application to the governors of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies to establish an English settlement on the banks of the Connecticut river, which led in part to

the first attempt at establishing a colony there. In a very short time after these English settlements began to be formed, the settlers found themselves involved in a war with this people, which became in the end extremely fierce and sanguinary, and ended in the almost utter extermination of the tribe. This war is known in history as the Pequot war. The name of the Grand Sachem who ruled over the Pequots at this time was Sassacus.



ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS.

The map exhibits in a distinct manner the situation of the Pequot country, and its relations to the settlements which had then been commenced by the English. There were three groups of English settlements, or rather three centres in which colonization had been commenced. The principal group was situated on the banks of the Connecticut river, in the northern part of what is now the state, and near the Massachusetts line. The principal settlements were at Hartford and Windsor.

There was, also, near the mouth of the Connecticut a fort and trading house at Saybrook. This station had just been established by a company from England, and was entirely independent of the settlements up the river.

The third settlement, which had been commenced, was at New Haven.

All these settlements were new, having been but very recently undertaken when the war broke out. The little companies of emigrants that occupied them were not, however, so utterly helpless and dependent as the Plymouth colony must have been for some years after it was founded, for they were greatly supported and strengthened by the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, which had now become quite strong, and were in constant communication with them.

Besides these English emigrants the Dutch from New Amsterdam, afterward New York, made frequent voyages up the Connecticut river to trade with the Indians for furs, and they had established several small forts and trading houses at different points along the shores.

THE PEQUOT COUNTRY.

The Pequot country, as the map shows, extended along the coast from the mouth of the Connecticut toward the shores of Narragansett Bay—being that part of the coast which lies opposite to Block Island and to the eastern end of Long Island. It extended also some distance into the interior. The chief stronghold and usual residence of Sassacus, the grand Sachem, was near the mouth of the river Thames, in what is now the town of Groton. It was a strong fort built in the Indian style, and situated on a beautiful eminence commanding a fine view of Long Island Sound, and of the islands off the coast.

Sassacus had another fort farther to the eastward, on the banks of the Mystic river, and all over the country were many little towns and villages occupied by the people of his tribe.

ORIGIN OF THE QUARREL WITH THE PEQUOTS.

Of course the Pequots, being a warlike and an

aggressive tribe, accustomed to make their way by fighting for the ground they occupied, would naturally look with great jealousy upon foreigners coming to establish themselves in their neighborhood, and encroaching upon territory belonging, as they considered, exclusively to the Indian race. The English, on the other hand, knowing the character of the Pequots, would look upon them with more suspicion and hostility than upon any other tribes. Indeed, when the other tribes sent messengers to Plymouth and to Boston, to endeavor to ingratiate themselves into the favor of the English and to obtain their friendship and alliance as a means of defending themselves against the Pequots, the English received them in a friendly manner, and evinced a strong inclination to take their part. This gave the Pequots great offence, and confirmed them in their determination to consider the English as their enemies.

CASE OF CAPTAIN STONE AND HIS PARTY.

The first open act of violence which these feelings of secret hostility induced was the destruction by the Indians of a party of trading adventurers under a certain Captain Stone, who went up the Connecticut in his vessel about the time that the English settlements above referred to were form-

ing This Captain Stone was known to be an unscrupulous and bad man. He came cruising along the coast in his vessel from far to the eastward of Massachusetts Bay, stopping from time to time to trade with the Indians, until finally he entered Connecticut River. The next that was heard of him was that he and all his men had been murdered by the Pequots, and his vessel blown up and burned. The story which came to the colonists and was generally circulated among them was this :

That after Captain Stone had entered the river he sent three men ashore with fowling pieces to see if they could shoot some game;—that these men fell into the hands of the Indians who murdered them—that the sachem, a subordinate chieftain who lived on that part of the river, then proceeded along the shore to where the vessel was lying, and went on board, taking with him some of his men and pretending to be friendly—of course concealing the fate of the three men who had gone on shore; that he remained in the cabin until the captain went to sleep, and then, after dispatching the captain by knocking him on the head, the men seized the guns that were there, and made a rush forward on the deck and attacked the crew; that in the fray the powder magazine took fire and blew up a portion of the deck; that the Indians escaped to

the shore without injury from the explosion, but immediately afterward returned to the attack and completed their work by burning the vessel and killing all the crew.

This story, of course, greatly excited and alarmed the colonists, but for a time no steps were taken to obtain redress.

THE INDIAN ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR.

The next year, however, the authorities at Boston had an opportunity to hear the Indian account of the affair; for at that time Sassacus sent an embassy to Boston to propose a treaty of friendship and alliance with the English. The messenger carried two bundles of sticks to represent the number of beaver and other skins which the sachem would give. He also carried with him a propitiatory present of wampum. This application led to some negotiations, in the course of which the governor of Massachusetts said he could not make any treaty with the tribe except on condition of their giving up the murderers of Captain Stone. The messengers replied that the sachem who had been chiefly concerned in that transaction had since been killed by the Dutch, and that all the others that had been joined with him, except two, had died of the small pox. Those two they said they presumed

Sassacus would deliver up, if it should appear that they were really guilty.

They said, however, that the Indians acted only in self-defense in the transaction. According to their account Captain Stone, after entering the river, had seized two of the Indians and carried them up the river with him by force, in order to make them act as pilots, and to prevent them from making their escape he kept them bound with their hands behind them. After going up some distance the captain went on shore taking these two men with him, their hands still tied behind them. The other natives, their countrymen, seeing them in this condition naturally desired to rescue them, and in the attempt which they made to do so, the captain and two of his crew who had come on shore with him were killed. Afterward the vessel was blown up and those that remained on board perished, but what the cause of the explosion was they did not know. An explanation was subsequently given by the Indians, as will presently appear, which threw more light on this affair.

TREATY MADE.

The authorities in Boston were, on the whole, rather inclined to believe that the Indian version of the affair above related was the most correct one.

At any rate they went on with their negotiations, and pretty soon concluded what may be called a treaty of peace and commerce with the Pequot tribe. This treaty was made and executed at Boston, two Pequot messengers who went there for the purpose representing the Indian sachem. It consisted of only three articles, specifying

1. That the English were to be allowed peaceable possession of as much land in Connecticut as they should require for their settlements.

2. That in respect to the murder of Captain Stone, Sassacus should pay four hundred fathoms of wampum, forty beaver skins and thirty other skins, by way of penalty for the crime committed by his people, and also deliver up the two remaining murderers whenever the governor of Massachusetts should send for them.

3. That the governor would send a vessel to the Pequot country immediately to trade with them.

WAMPUM.

The wampum referred to consisted of long strings of coarse beads made of shells, which served among the Indians the purpose of money. The universal demand for this wampum, as an ornamental portion of the dress, gave to the article a certain intrinsic

value as merchandise, which was the foundation of its current value, as money.

Of course to the colonists it was of no *direct* use, as the wives and daughters of civilized men would only despise a style of ornamentation so barbarous, the wampum having the appearance of strings of coarse and roughly shaped white buttons. Still as the article was every where valued by the Indians, furs and skins could be bought of them with it, and thus it became valuable to the colonists as a medium of trade.

CUNNING OF THE NARRAGANSETTS.

The treaty, when agreed upon, was drawn up in due form and the two Indians signed it by making their marks. The business being thus arranged the Indian ambassadors were about setting out on their return home, when the governor of the colony learned by some means that there was a party of Narragansett warriors lying in ambush on the way, at a short distance from Boston, with a view of intercepting and killing them. The story was that there were three hundred Narragansetts in this party, and that they were lurking on the banks of the Neponset river—a small stream which flows along the confines of the town of Dorchester—expecting that the two Pequots would pass that way on their return.

The governor immediately sent a small body of armed men to communicate with this party, and to request the leaders of it to come to Boston and see him. On receiving this message two chieftains, attended by their followers, the number of which as it proved were only about twenty, came to Boston. On being questioned by the governor in respect to their intentions they said that they had been on a hunting excursion about the country, and before returning home they had only stopped at Neponset to make a visit to some friendly Indians living there. Whatever may have been their real designs they were now very willing to promise the governor not to molest the Pequots on their way home, especially as the governor made them a promise, on his part, that if the treaty which they had signed was carried into effect, and the wampum paid, he intended to give a considerable portion of it to the Narragansetts. So the two Pequots were allowed to return home in peace.

NEW DIFFICULTIES.

The treaty went into effect and was tolerably well observed for some time as will be seen hereafter—though the Pequots were very slow in making up the amount of wampum stipulated for—until, at length, in 1636 the story came to the colonists that

A man named Oldham, who had been trading on the coast, had been murdered at Block Island by some Indians, and that the murderers had gone to the Pequot country and were protected there. Mr. Oldham was an inhabitant of Dorchester, which was a part of the Massachusetts colony, and the governor felt it incumbent upon him to take measures for vindicating the authority of the colony by avenging his death.

THE OLDHAM AFFAIR.

The circumstances of the Oldham affair were as follows. The man who had been murdered navigated a small vessel called a pinnace, in which he was accustomed to visit the Indian settlements and trade with the natives for furs and corn. In 1636 he made one of these voyages to the Pequot country, and on his return he stopped at Block Island, which was then inhabited by Indians connected with the Narragansett tribe.

It so happened that the next day after his arrival here another vessel, commanded by a certain John Gallop, came that way in the prosecution of a similar trading voyage to the Indians on Long Island. When Gallop came near the Block Island shore he saw Captain Oldham's pinnace lying there, with a large number of Indians on the deck, and an Indian

canoe, loaded with goods, going from the pinnace toward the shore. He immediately suspected that something was wrong, and he at once ran down toward the pinnace and hailed her in English. He received no answer. He knew by this that the vessel was in the possession of the Indians. He saw, too, that many of them were brandishing guns, and presently the sail went up and the vessel began to move off to the northward, toward the main land.

He immediately bore up ahead of the pinnace so as to intercept her and then poured in volley after volley of musketry. Many of the Indians were killed and the rest were driven below. Gallop immediately took a little circuit and then came down upon the pinnace so as to strike her with all his force upon the quarter, which gave her such a shock as almost overset her, and frightened the Indians so much that six of them jumped out and were drowned in attempting to swim on shore.

Captain Gallop then bore round and came down upon the pinnace again, giving her another shock, but as no more Indians appeared he began to fire through the sides of the vessel, which were so thin that the bullets easily went through. This terrified the Indians that remained below so much that six more of them rushed up to the deck and leaped over board into the water, where they sank and drowned

RECAPTURE OF THE PINNACE.



DANIEL-BROS.

Captain Gallop had only three men and two boys with him to navigate his vessel, but seeing that so many of the Indians had been disposed of he now ventured to board the pinnace and take possession of her. There were some Indians still below. Two of these came up and surrendered. Gallop attempted to bind them but finding that he could not conveniently secure them both, he threw one of them into the sea. There were two others that still remained below, and these last were armed with swords and had shut themselves up in the cabin where Gallop could not well get at them. So he fastened them in and let them remain.

On looking about over the deck of the pinnace Captain Gallop found the dead body of Captain Oldham lying under an old sail. The head was split open and the limbs were dreadfully mutilated. Captain Gallop committed the body to the sea, and then proceeded to take off from the vessel all the sails and rigging, and every thing else that was of value and could be easily removed. He then took the vessel in tow, in order, if possible, to conduct her to some port—the two Indians still remaining shut up below. The wind, however, began to blow in the night and a heavy sea arose, so that he was obliged to cast off his prize. She went drifting away toward the main land, and he saw her no more

DEMANDS OF SATISFACTION.

The government of the Massachusetts colony immediately demanded satisfaction of the Narragansetts for this act of murder and robbery. The Narragansett authorities seemed very willing to do all in their power to atone for it. Two Indians and two boys that had been with Captain Oldham in his pinnace, serving as his crew, were recovered and sent to Boston. Ample apologies were made too, and every effort promised to discover and punish the murderers.

This seems to have satisfied the colonists so far as the Narragansett nation was concerned, but it was said that a portion of the murderers of Oldham had escaped to the Pequot territory, and had been harbored and protected there. Accordingly the government of the colony determined to send an armed force to punish first the Block Island Indians for having allowed the crime to be committed in their territory, and then the Pequots for having, as was alleged, harbored the criminals. The person who was to have charge of this expedition was Captain Endicott.

EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN ENDICOTT.

The orders given to Captain Endicott were very severe, not to say unjust and cruel. Indeed, the

object of the Massachusetts government was, in the measures which they were about to take, not to do justice, but to execute vengeance—not to inflict upon guilty individuals a punishment which their personal crimes deserved, but to strike terror into the hearts of the whole tribe, by an overwhelming exhibition of the stern and merciless efficiency of English power.

Endicott was to proceed to Block Island, burn and destroy all the Indian villages, and kill all the men that he could find, though he was to spare the women and children. Then he was to proceed to the main land and there summon the grand sachem to appear. He was to charge the sachem with having harbored the Block Island murderers, and to demand of him the immediate surrender of them, and also of the murderers of Captain Stone, and the payment of the arrears of wampum due, under the former treaty, and four hundred fathoms more, making a thousand fathoms in all. If the sachem found himself unable to deliver up the men and pay the wampum on the spot, then he was to surrender into the hands of Endicott twenty children as hostages, to be held by them until the men and the wampum were forthcoming; and if the sachem refused to comply with this demand, then Captain Endicott was to attack the Indians at once,

destroy as many of them as he could, and lay waste the country with fire and sword.

The government of Massachusetts justified this severity by the plea, that in dealing with such savages the only alternative was very rough justice or no justice at all. As all the ordinary modes practiced among civilized nations for examining evidence and distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty were wanting, the only thing to be done was to hold the whole community responsible for the crimes which they allowed individual members to commit. This was moreover in accordance with the settled international law—if we may dignify by that phrase the barbarous usages in force among tribes of savages—which prevailed and was universally acknowledged among the Indians themselves.

Our forefathers too, in those days, drew sometimes something like a sanction for their unsparing severity in dealing with the Indians from the examples set them, in the Mosaic history, by the children of Israel, in extirpating the Pagan aborigines of Canaan. Neither of these excuses seem to us at the present day to justify their proceedings.

CAPTAIN ENDICOTT AT BLOCK ISLAND.

Endicott's expedition consisted of a little fleet of several small vessels and an armed force of ninety

men. He reached Block Island at a time when a fresh wind was blowing, and a heavy surf was rolling in upon the shore. There was a single Indian seen walking along the beach. Captain Endicott sent a boat toward the shore with about a dozen soldiers in it. Just as the boat was drawing near the beach a large number of Indians suddenly appeared from behind a range of sand hills, and rushing down to the beach shot a volley of arrows at the men in the boat. One man was wounded in the neck by an arrow which came with such force that it passed through a collar "thick and stiff," they said, "as an oaken board."

The surf was so high that the men deemed it not safe to run the boat to the shore lest it should be stove by striking upon the rocks, and thus the means of retreat to the vessel be cut off entirely from the party landed. They accordingly kept the boat outside the breakers, while the soldiers leaped from it into the water and hurried to the land. The Indians fled from the beach and immediately disappeared from view in the thickets. The soldiers took possession of the vacant ground, and the rest of the force was immediately landed from the vessel. The party encamped for the night and set sentinels. They expected all night to be attacked. They were, however, not disturbed and the

next morning the whole force, except such as were necessary to guard the boats and vessels, set off on their mission of destruction.

It would be very painful to dwell on the terrible scenes of devastation and slaughter which followed. The soldiers spent two days in ransacking the island in all directions and destroying every thing that came in their way. They found two villages, but they were deserted except by the dogs. The English burnt the wigwams, shot the poor dogs, staved and broke to pieces the canoes, laid waste the corn-fields, and then went off in all directions around to explore the woods and swamps and hunt out the wretched fugitives who had fled to these secret recesses to save their lives. They could not find a great many of them though the commander reported that they killed fourteen. This, however, may have been only an empty boast, as the Narragansetts on the main land subsequently reported that they only killed one.

THE EXPEDITION TOUCHES AT THE FORT AT SAYBROOK.

After finishing this work of devastation the troops were reëmbarked and the expedition sailed again. Instead of proceeding directly to the main land, Captain Endicott sailed first for Fort Saybrook, in order to communicate with the garrison

there and obtain their coöperation. The commander of the fort at this time was Lieutenant Gardiner. He was greatly astonished when he saw such an armament coming into the harbor, and when he learned what Captain Endicott had done at Block Island and what he intended to do in the Pequo country on the main land he remonstrated very earnestly against the whole proceeding.

"You have come," said he, "to raise a nest of wasps about our ears, and then you will flee away."

But these remonstrances were unavailing with Captain Endicott. He was determined to proceed; and Lieutenant Gardiner, finding that the work must be done, concluded that it would be better that it should be done effectually, and so he added to the force two shallops and twenty men.

After remaining four days at Saybrook the fleet sailed again, and passing by the mouth of the Connecticut it advanced along the coast toward the mouth of the Thames, on the banks of which river, as has already been said, the chief stronghold of Sassacus was situated.

THE EXPEDITION IN THE THAMES.

When the fleet entered the Thames several Indians came down to the shore and began to call out to the ships, to inquire in a friendly manner why

they had come with so many vessels, and what they were going to do. To this the English made no reply but went quietly on, up the river.

The Indians began now to be alarmed, and all that night the men on board the ships heard shouts and cries, in tones of distress and fear, all along the shore and in the woods, as if the inhabitants were taking measures to escape from the threatened danger.

A PARLEY.

In the morning a boat was seen coming from the shore. It contained an Indian of a tall and majestic form, and of a very imposing carriage and demeanor. He came on board Captain Endicott's vessel and a parley ensued. There was a calm and quiet dignity in the appearance of this Indian and in his words, which greatly impressed those who witnessed the interview.

The Indian asked what was the object of the coming of such a fleet into their river. To this Captain Endicott replied by enumerating the complaints of the English, and demanded the redress which he had been instructed to exact, namely the delivery of the supposed murderers, the payment of one thousand fathoms of wampum, and the surrender of twenty children as hostages to

be held until the other conditions should be fulfilled.

The Indian ambassador replied calmly and with courtesy to these demands, and he gave now an explanation in regard to the death of Captain Stone, who he admitted had been killed by an Indian on board his vessel, though it will be remembered, that in the first Indian account of the affair this was denied. His statement was, that some time before Captain Stone's voyage, a trading vessel—a Dutch vessel as it afterward appeared—came up the river, and that the captain of it contrived by treachery to get one of their sachems on board, and then called out to the people on shore that if they wished him to be set at liberty again they must pay a bushel of wampum for his ransom. If they would send on board that amount of wampum he would send the sachem on shore.

So the Indians, with great effort, collected that large amount of wampum and sent it to the vessel, and then the captain, by way of keeping his promise, sent the *dead body* of the sachem to them, having treacherously murdered him in the meantime. The vessel then sailed away.

This affair greatly exasperated the Indians, and in accordance with their usages in such cases, in dealing with each other, they determined to kill the

first officer of the white men that should come into their country. It happened that Captain Stone was the man upon whom the chance fell—the Indians not making any distinction between the English and the Dutch. Accordingly when Stone's vessel appeared, the son of the sachem who had been murdered went with some others on board the vessel, and there remained drinking with the captain in his cabin until the captain became intoxicated. There was no great improbability in this part of the story, as the captain was known to be a very intemperate and dissolute man, and was in the habit of drinking and carousing with the Indians when he went to trade among them.

As soon as the liquor had produced its effect, the Indians killed the captain with a hatchet, and then attacked the rest of the crew, and in the fray the vessel was blown up and all the sailors perished, though the Indians jumped overboard in season and escaped.

There followed between Captain Endicott and the Indian some discussion on the questions at issue, in which the Indian endeavored, as well as he could, to defend his country. At length the ambassador returned to the shore to report the demands of the English, promising to bring back an answer very soon.

LANDING OF THE ENGLISH.

But Endicott would not wait for an answer. He immediately proceeded to land his forces and to take up a position on the shore, in martial array. There followed other interviews with different Indians who came around the camp to remonstrate, or to ask for delay, but Endicott was very impatient, and before anything was settled he suddenly ordered all the Indians to begone, telling them that he had come to fight them and was now ready, but he would give them so far a chance for their lives as not to fire upon them till they had time to get once out of the reach of his guns.

So the Indians fled in terror toward the woods while Endicott's men pursuing them immediately commenced hostilities.

The scenes of Block Island were now reënacted in all their horror. The troops spent the day in burning wigwams, wasting corn fields, shooting at every living thing they could see, staving canoes, and destroying every species of property. At night, wearied with their work, they returned on board their vessels. The next morning they landed on the opposite shore of the river, and spent a second day in carrying every where the same sweeping destruction on that side. Having thus, as he thought, sufficiently executed his cruel mis-

sion, Captain Endicott set sail again for Boston, with all his vessels and all his soldiers safe, except the wound in the neck of one man.

THE PEQUOTS EFFECTUALLY AROUSED.

The consequences of such proceedings were exactly what Lieutenant Gardiner had predicted. The Pequots, instead of being overawed and made submissive by these outrages, were only aroused and exasperated by them. They immediately began as one man to prepare for war. The first step that Sassacus took was to endeavor to induce the Narragansetts to join them. For this purpose he sent messengers to the Narragansett country with offers of peace with that tribe, and a proposal that they should make common cause with him against the foreign foe. The Narragansetts were on the point of acceding to these requests, and they would doubtless have done so had it not been for the influence of Roger Williams, who had before this period commenced his settlement in their country, and who had at this time acquired great influence over the chieftains of the tribe. Through his influence the Narragansetts at last decided to take sides with the English, and they sent an embassy to Boston, where a formal and solemn treaty of alliance was made with the Massachusetts colony.

DESPERATE HOSTILITIES OF THE PEQUOTS.

The Pequots immediately commenced operations. They sent parties of armed men to prowl about Fort Saybrook, and about all the English settlements on Connecticut river, and to seize and destroy every thing that came within their reach. They captured five men who had been sent out from Fort Saybrook to harvest a field of corn, and who had very imprudently strayed away into the woods, and put them to death with cruel tortures; and then, that night, they came as near the fort as they dared and taunted and defied the garrison by imitating the cries and groans which the five men had emitted in their dying agonies.

A few days afterward another party were sent up the river to a certain island in hopes of cutting and saving some hay there, when the Indians set upon them, and though most of the party escaped, one of them was seized by them and taken off into the woods and there roasted alive.

Another man who went up the river in a vessel was taken prisoner, on landing, and brought down in sight of the Fort and there put to death with tortures and mutilations too horrid to be described, in the very view of the garrison, who were too few in numbers to interfere.

In a word, the Indians kept such constant watch

about the Fort that it was impossible to conduct any operations for tilling the ground or securing crops already grown, or for obtaining food by hunting or fishing. Once or twice Lieutenant Gardiner, finding this state of things intolerable, sent out strong parties of armed men to disperse or destroy these men,—but in such cases though they traversed the woods faithfully in every direction there was never by any chance a single Indian to be found.

CONDITION OF THE SETTLEMENTS UP THE RIVER.

The infant colony up the river was substantially in the same condition with Fort Saybrook. Every settlement was so surrounded and hemmed in by savages prowling about every where in the woods, that no one could venture away from his house but at the risk of his life. If the men banded themselves together and went armed to their fields, then in their absence the Indians would attack the villages and carry off the women and girls as captives. Among the captives thus taken were two young girls, who were subsequently rescued and restored to their parents as will appear in the next chapter.

Almost all communication up and down the river was stopped too, for the Indians had full possession of the stream by their canoes. In these canoes they could come out at night from small coves and

inlets and attack any vessel attempting to come up, and then could disappear as suddenly as they came. In fine, the progress of all the settlements was completely arrested, and it became plain that unless something effectual could be done to overthrow the Pequot power the whole region must be abandoned.

APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Under these circumstances the people of the Connecticut settlements, after full deliberation on the subject, sent an earnest appeal to the authorities of the Massachusetts Bay colony, calling upon them to come to their aid. You, they said, have been the means of bringing this evil upon us by the expedition of Captain Endicott to revenge the death of one of your own people, and now it devolves upon you to rescue us from it.

The Massachusetts people admitted the justice of this claim, and they determined at once to organize an expedition strong enough to break up and destroy the Pequot power once for all,—even to the extent, if necessary, of the utter extermination of the tribe.

CHAPTER III.

END OF THE PEQUOT WAR.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FINAL STRUGGLE.

It was arranged that the different colonies and settlements should furnish each its own quota of troops for the war. The first expedition was to start from Hartford, and was to consist of the quotas furnished by the settlements on the river, namely, Hartford forty-two, Windsor thirty and Weathersfield eighteen, making an army of *ninety* men in all ! This was the total number of soldiers which at that time the whole civil population of Connecticut could raise for a war on which the very existence of the people depended. The difference between those days and the present is shown by the fact that the descendants and representatives of these men, living within the same limits have already, January 1, 1863, furnished nearly thirty thousand men for the war of the Southern rebellion.

INDIAN AUXILIARIES.

Besides these ninety Englishmen there were about seventy Indians in the expedition. These Indians were of the Mohegan tribe and were under the command of a Chieftain or sachem named Uncas, who lived near where the town of Norwich is now situated. The Mohegans and the Pequots had formerly been connected, and Uncas had been in some sense subordinate to Sassacus; but he had quarrelled with him, and rebelled against his authority, and was now easily persuaded to join the English in making war upon him. The English were very distrustful of the fidelity of these Indians, but still they needed them as guides, and they concluded on the whole to risk the chance of taking them.

THE COMMANDER.

The expedition was put under the command of Captain John Mason—a military man who had been for some time in the fort at Saybrook. He was a man of tall and commanding appearance, stern in his manners, and very resolute and determined in character.

One of the ministers of Hartford, Mr. Stone, was appointed to accompany the expedition as chaplain.

THE RENDEZVOUS.

The troops assembled at Hartford, where they were to embark on board some small vessels provided for the purpose and proceed down the river to Fort Saybrook, at which place they were to make their final preparations for the campaign. From Saybrook they were to proceed along the coast to the mouth of the Thames—which was the maritime entrance to the Pequot territory, and was, in fact, often called Pequot harbor,—and there to commence active operations.

The troops were embarked at Hartford on board a little fleet consisting of a schooner and two or three large sail boats. There were ninety Englishmen and seventy Indians. When all was ready the fleet set sail and proceeded down the river.

THE VOYAGE.

The voyage was not very prosperous, for the water was low, and as the vessels were small they were continually running aground. The Indians soon became tired of this kind of navigation, so much inferior, as they considered it, to their mode of paddling about in canoes, which could move in the shallowest water, and which, even if they did at any time run upon a sand bank, could be easily set afloat again by the boatmen leaping into the water

alongside, and pushing them off with their hands upon the gunwales. Accordingly after a while the Indians were set on shore in order that they might proceed to Fort Saybrook by land.

ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITION AT FORT SAYBROOK.

In due time both divisions arrived at Fort Saybrook. The Indians reported that on their way they had encountered a party of Pequots, thirty or forty in number, and had killed seven of them, without any loss on their side except the wounding of one man. This news greatly pleased Captain Mason and the English under his command, as tending to show that their Indian allies were really in earnest and could be relied upon. Lieutenant Gardiner, however, who knew the artfulness of the Indian character, was still very suspicious in respect to their ultimate designs.

"How dare you trust these Mohegans?" said he to Captain Mason. "It is not a year since they were good friends and allies with the Pequots."

"*I am obliged* to trust them," said Captain Mason, "for it is absolutely necessary for me to have them as guides in the Pequot country."

THE INDIANS PUT TO THE TEST.

Lieutenant Gardiner was still not satisfied and

he determined to put the Indians to a new test. So he called Uncas before him and said to him,

“ You say you are going to help Captain Mason in this war. Perhaps it is so, but I wish to have some proof of it. Last night a canoe with six Indians went up the Bass river, and they have not returned. Send twenty of your men and bring me down those Indians dead or alive. If you do this then you shall go with Captain Mason. If not, not.”

Uncas accepted this proposal and sent off the twenty men. In due time they returned having killed four of the men and taken one of the other two prisoner. The sixth seems to have escaped.

THE PRISONER KISWAS.

The name of the prisoner was Kiswas. He was well known at the fort, having lived there a long time before the war broke out, and having learned to speak English tolerably well. He had appeared very friendly toward the English at that time, but since the commencement of the war he had left the fort and joined his countrymen, and he was able to render them great aid in their hostile operations by his knowledge of the fort, and of the usages and customs of the garrison. Of course the English, though very unjustly, considered him as in some sense a traitor.

DREADFUL FATE OF KISWAS.

The Indians, on coming back to the fort with their prisoner, demanded that he should be left in their hands to be tortured to death according to their custom. The English, partly under the exasperation which they felt toward him as a traitor, and also as having been an aider and abettor in all the horrid cruelties which the Pequots had practiced upon the prisoners that they had taken from time to time, and also, perhaps, feeling that if they accepted the services of savages as their allies in the war, they ought to allow them to conduct their portion of the operations in their own way, at once yielded to this demand. The Mohegans accordingly led the unhappy prisoner out to his execution, he daring and defying them all the time, and challenging them to do their worst.

The cruelties which were practiced by the Indians on such occasions are altogether too horrible to be described. In order to give the reader once for all an idea of the inhuman barbarity of these scenes, it may be right to say in this case that the Mohegans fastened their victim to a tree—binding one of his legs securely to the trunk—and then attaching a rope to the other leg, and manning the rope with twenty warriors, they pulled upon it until the body of the wretched man was torn asunder

One of the English officers who stood by witnessing this scene found it impossible to endure the spectacle, and so he shot the struggling and quivering victim through the head in order to put him out of his misery.

RESCUE OF THE TWO CAPTIVE GIRLS.

The English party on their arrival at the fort, to their great joy found there the two girls who have already been spoken of as having been taken captive up the river. They had been rescued by a Dutch vessel and brought to the fort while the English expedition was coming down the river. This Dutch vessel had come from New Amsterdam for the purpose of trading with the Pequots, not knowing of the breaking out of the war. They touched at the fort on their way, and the commander, Lieutenant Gardiner, strongly objected to their going on.

“In your trade with them,” said he, “you will supply them with kettles and other articles of metal, and these things will be just what they want to make arrow heads of to shoot at us.”

After some altercation on this point the Dutch captain promised that if the commander of the fort would consent to his going on he would redeem the two captive girls, and bring them safe to the fort

To this Lieutenant Gardiner agreed, and the Dutch vessel proceeded on her voyage.

MANNER IN WHICH THE RESCUE WAS EFFECTED.

The vessel entered the River Thames and presently sent a boat on shore with offers to trade with the natives—saying, however, that in return for their merchandise they wanted not wampum or furs, but only the two English girls who were held as captives. Sassacus sent word back that he could not let the captives go.

The Dutch then determined to employ artifice, a means of attaining any desired end that is always unscrupulously resorted to in dealings between hostile or semi-hostile people, and which is called by those who practice it stratagem, and by those against whom it is practiced treachery. They contrived by pretending not to care much about the two girls, and by affecting an unconcerned and friendly demeanor, to inveigle seven of the principal men among the Indians on board their vessel, and then when they had these visitors secure, they called out to the Indians on the bank that if they would send the two girls on board they should have their countrymen again; but if they refused then they would take the men out into the open sea and throw them overboard.

The Indians supposed at first that this was an empty threat, and refused to send the girls. The Dutchman then hoisted his sails and began to proceed down the river. When the Indians found at length that he was in earnest they put the two girls on board two canoes, and sent men to paddle them off at full speed and overtake the vessel. The vessel held back until the canoes came up, and the girls were then exchanged for the seven men, and were brought safe to Saybrook.

THE GIRLS' ACCOUNT OF THEIR ADVENTURES.

Of course the two children were closely questioned about what happened to them during their captivity. They said in answer to these inquiries that the Indians treated them very kindly, and took them about from place to place and showed them all their wigwams and every thing that was curious, and endeavored in many ways to amuse them, or as they expressed it, to "make them merry." The Indians had a number of guns, they said, and a little powder and shot, and they were very eager to earn from the girls how the white people made their powder, in order that they might make it for themselves. They asked the girls if they knew how to make it, and when they found that they knew nothing about it they seemed to be much dis-

appointed, and would perhaps have treated the girls with neglect, or even with cruelty, if the wife of a certain chieftain named Mononotto had not taken them under her special protection.

SUBSEQUENT ADVENTURES OF THE TWO GIRLS.

The girls were not immediately restored to their parents, for the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, who it seems knew of the captivity of these children before the Dutch vessel sailed from that port, had given the captain orders to recover them if he could possibly do so, and had also directed that in case they should be recovered they should be brought first to New Amsterdam, in order that he might see and talk with them, hoping probably by their means to obtain some useful information about the condition of the Pequot tribe, the state of the country, and the manners and customs of the people.

Accordingly from Saybrook the children were taken to New Amsterdam where they remained for a time the guests of the governor, and objects of great interest and curiosity to all the town. They were at length put on board another vessel, and sailing along the sound to the mouth of the Connecticut, and thence up that river nearly fifty miles to their home, they were finally restored to their parents safe and sound.

CONSULTATIONS IN RESPECT TO THE PLANS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

When all the preliminaries had been settled, and the time arrived for the expedition to go forward to its work, the proper course to be pursued in advancing into the Pequot territory came up for final decision, and it gave rise to much difference of opinion. The most obvious course would be to sail directly for the Thames and passing up that river to enter at once into the heart of the country. But Captain Mason thought that a better plan would be for them to pass by the Thames and enter the Narragansett country which lay beyond, and then come back into the Pequot country by land, through the woods.

By this means he thought they would perhaps be able to take the Pequots unawares by approaching them from an unexpected quarter. The expedition might, moreover, hope to obtain some reinforcements from the Narragansetts themselves, and thus enter the enemy's country with a larger force.

Some of the other officers, however, and many of the men, were opposed to this plan, thinking it dangerous for them to leave their ships and trust themselves to all the chances of a long and hazardous march through the woods, where they might get lost in the swamps, or fall into ambuscades.

THE PRAYERS OF THE CHAPLAIN.

Under these circumstances Captain Mason referred the question to Rev. Mr. Stone, the Hartford minister who, it will be recollected, accompanied the expedition as chaplain, asking him to pray to God, invoking his guidance and direction for them in deciding upon the course they should pursue. Mr. Stone accordingly spent the whole night in prayer in his cabin on board one of the vessels, and when the morning came he returned to the shore and told Captain Mason that it was strongly impressed upon his mind that the expedition ought to go round by the way of the Narragansett country.

Captain Mason considered this impression upon the minister's mind a sufficient indication of the divine will, and that plan was decided upon.

THE EXPEDITION SETS SAIL.

It was on Friday, the twenty-ninth of May, that the little fleet set sail from Saybrook. The expedition reached Narragansett Bay on Saturday evening, too late to land. The next day was Sunday, and they had too much regard for the sacredness of the Sabbath to do any thing on that day, so the whole company remained quietly on board their vessels. On Monday there was a gale of wind from

the northwest, and it blew so heavily that they *could* not land. The wind continued all Monday night and all day Tuesday until evening, when it went down, as they say, with the sun. The soldiers then landed, and after forming on the beach they marched immediately to the sachem's residence. The sachem's name was Canonicus.

CANONICUS AND THE NARRAGANSETTS.

Captain Mason informed Canonicus that he had been sent on an expedition to invade the Pequot country and punish the people for their crimes, but that all he desired of the Narragansetts was a peaceful passage through their dominions.

Canonicus gave a favorable reply so far as the free passage was concerned, but he attempted to dissuade Captain Mason from proceeding on such an enterprise. The Pequots he said were great warriors, and the English were altogether too few to attempt to march through the woods into their country, or to attack them with any hope of success.

The other Narragansetts too, who had opinions to express on the subject, said it was useless for Captain Mason to proceed, for his men, they were sure, would not fight when they came to be brought face to face with such terrible foes.

NEWS FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS DIVISION

It will be remembered that Captain Mason's little army was composed only of the soldiers drawn from the colonies in Connecticut, who rendezvoused at Hartford. The quota of troops from the Massachusetts colonies was to come by land across the country from Massachusetts Bay under the command of Captain Patrick. An Indian courier sent forward by Captain Patrick came now into the Narragansett country with news that this division was on the way, and had arrived at the settlement of Roger Williams, at Providence, and would soon join Captain Mason if he would wait for them. Captain Mason, however, determined not to wait. He had already met with many delays, and his men, who were farmers as well as soldiers, and who depended for the sustenance of their families during the coming year on getting home in season to put their seed into the ground before the spring should pass away, were very impatient to proceed.

THE EXPEDITION MOVES ON.

So he ordered the fleet to return along the coast toward the Thames, and to enter that river and be ready there to receive him and his party on board when they should have accomplished the object of the expedition, and then commenced his march. A

considerable number of the Narragansett Indians joined him. The force consisted now of about eighty whites and sixty Indians. These last were under the command of Uncas. Thirteen whites and a few Indians went back in the vessels.

FORT NEHANTIC.

The party marched that day, as they judged, about eighteen or twenty miles. They were joined during the day by many Indians of the country who followed the expedition rather as spectators, to see what would be done, than in any other capacity. At night the whole troop arrived at a fort, or strong hold, belonging to a small tribe—a dependency in some sense, as it would appear, upon the Narragansetts—who were called the Nehantics. This fort, like many of the other Indian stations, consisted of a small town surrounded by a kind of stockade wall, which served as a fortification. The Nehantics, either because they were unfriendly to the English, or suspicious of them,—or else perhaps because they were afraid of exciting the hostility of the Pequots by harboring their enemies, did not receive the expedition in a very friendly manner. They shut the gates and would not allow any of the company to enter the town.

“Very well,” said Captain Mason. “If we

may not come in neither shall any of you come out."

So he stationed sentinels and a guard all around the place, and kept the inhabitants closely shut in until the morning. He was afraid, in fact, that if they were allowed free egress some of them might go forward during the night into the Pequot country and give the people warning.

Captain Mason accordingly encamped with his men outside the town, and so many of the natives had by this time joined him from the country that he had been marching through, that it was estimated that there were five hundred Indians gathered that night around the camp fires. These men spent the night in shouting, singing, dancing, making wild and frightful gesticulations, and boasting of their courage and of the desperate feats of strength and valor which they would perform when they met the enemy the following day.

THE MARCH CONTINUED.

The next morning the march was resumed. The day was very warm and the way through the woods was so difficult that several of the men, burdened as they were with their arms and accoutrements, fainted from the effects of the heat and the fatigue. After going on about twelve miles they came to a

small river called the Paucatuc, where there was a ford.* This was a famous fishing place, the Indians said, for the Pequot people, and they pointed out several spots of ground where companies of men had been dressing fish. They concluded from these appearances that the Pequots had been here lately to take fish, and that they were preparing for some great feast or carousal. Captain Mason was pleased to learn this, for it increased his hope of coming upon the enemy unexpectedly and taking them unawares.

PASSING THE PEQUOT FRONTIER.

The river Paucatuc formed the boundary, so that on passing the ford the expedition entered upon the Pequot territory. The Indians who had been so boastful and vainglorious the night before now began to show signs of fear. They became silent and thoughtful, and fell back into the rear of the column. Uncas told Captain Mason, in fact, that he did not suppose these straggling recruits that had joined them on the march would be of any service to them,—but that he and his Mohegans would be found faithful and true when the time of trial came. The result accorded exactly with his declarations.

* See the map of the Pequot country on page 49.

THE HALT AT PORTER'S ROCKS.

The expedition moved on about three miles farther, and then as evening was coming on, and as according to the statements of the Indians they were now within a mile or two of the first Pequot fort, they determined to halt and encamp for the night.

Some rest and refreshment were now absolutely necessary for the men, for they were almost entirely exhausted by the fatigues and privations of their long march. Their supply of food was scanty, as they could have none except what they brought with them. They continued their march, however, for an hour after night came on, though as it happened there was a bright moon to give them light. They crept along as silently as possible to avoid giving any alarm. At length they came to a place where there was a plat of low and level ground between some large and lofty rocks which are known at the present day as Porter's rocks. The place is in the pleasant town of Groton, and is situated about half a mile north of a small village called the Head of Mystic.*

THE NIGHT IN CAMP.

The soldiers took possession of this ground, preserving the utmost silence, and speaking to each

* For the situation of the Mystic river see map.

other only in whispers. They stationed sentinels in the surrounding woods at a considerable distance from the camp, and those that went off in a southeastern direction, which was toward the place where the fort was situated which they were going to attack, heard the Indians in the fort singing and carousing all night. It seems that from the fort or town,—which was situated on a hill—the Pequots had seen the fleet sail by on its way toward the Narragansett country, and so had concluded that the danger of attack from the English had passed, and they were now expressing, in their savage way, the feelings of exultation and triumph which they felt, in finding that their enemy, as they supposed, did not dare to assail them.

ADVANCE OF THE ATTACK.

The men slept so soundly, though lying on the ground and with only rocks for their pillows, that daylight was somewhat advanced before any of them awoke. The whole camp was then immediately aroused. It was later than they intended and there was not a moment to be lost, but before moving on, the men were assembled, and a short and hurried prayer was offered to implore the presence and blessing of Almighty God on the work which they were about to perform. Then they set out upon

their march, the Indians showing them a path which they said led directly to the fort. As for the Indians themselves, a great many had gone back, and the rest prudently kept in the rear.

Along this path the file of English soldiers crept stealthily, Captain Mason at the head. Not a word was spoken, and every effort was made in walking not to elicit any sound.

After following the path in this way for nearly two miles without seeing any signs of the fort, Captain Mason began to feel uneasy, and to suspect some treachery. He accordingly halted. He sent a messenger back to the rear of the column, with orders given in a whisper, that some of the Indians should come forward to speak to him. Two of them came, Uncas himself and another chieftain named Wequosh. He asked them where the fort was.

"It is almost in sight," said they in reply. "It is on the top of that hill," pointing at the same time to a large rounded hill which appeared at a short distance before them.

THE ATTACK.

The force was then immediately put in motion again and began to ascend the hill. Captain Mason was informed that there were two entrances to the fort or town, one on the northeast and one on the

southwest side. He accordingly divided his men into two parties, he himself taking command of one, and placing Captain Underhill at the head of the other. Both parties advanced as noiselessly and stealthily as possible, and Captain Mason arrived within a very short distance of the entrance when suddenly a dog barked within and gave the alarm. Immediately afterward loud cries of *Owanux!* *Owanux!* meaning *Englishmen! Englishmen!* were heard resounding within the fort, and noises arose denoting the utmost excitement and commotion.

The opening in the stockade which formed the entrance to the little town was closed by means of a kind of cheveux-de-frise, formed of stout bushes with the sharpened branches pointing in every direction. Captain Mason and his men made their way past this obstruction partly by climbing over the bushes and partly by pulling them out of the way. On penetrating within the enclosure they found the whole community within in a state of confusion and dismay. Some were hurrying out their bows and arrows and making ready for defending themselves. Others were trying to find some way of escape, or seeking the means of concealing or saving their wives and children. The combat was immediately commenced by the English

soldiers shooting down every living being that they could see, and very soon Captain Mason, rushing into one of the wigwams, seized a burning brand and set some of the mats on fire which formed the covering of the huts.

Then ensued a scene of horror which the dreadful records of human passion and hate in the whole history of the world have seldom equaled and probably never surpassed. The flames spread very rapidly and soon the whole town was in a blaze. The English, as long as they could themselves endure the heat and the smoke, remained within the enclosure, shooting down with their muskets every terrified and wretched fugitive which they could see flying from the smoke and flames, and then going outside they took their stations all around and shot at every form which they saw attempting to escape through the door ways, and at every head that appeared at the top of the stockade. They killed many in this way, and the fire destroyed almost all the rest. Seven were taken captive and seven escaped, but of the remainder, consisting of six or seven hundred persons, men, women and children, every one perished. The whole of this awful massacre was completely accomplished in the space of little more than an hour.

There were seventy wigwams in the town all of

which were consumed, together with all the clothing, the utensils, the arms, the supplies of wampum, and other treasures, which comprised far the most valuable portion of the property possessed by the tribe.

CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH TROOPS AFTER THE BATTLE.

Two Englishmen were killed in the assault upon the town, and twenty were wounded. The rest were so exhausted by their long march, by the want of food and of rest, and by the violence of the exertion and the excitement attendant on the fight, that they sank down panting and almost lifeless upon the ground around the fort when the struggle was ended, and seemed utterly unable to make any farther effort. Some of them fainted entirely away, and were with difficulty revived by the efforts of their companions.

The danger, moreover, was not yet passed, for there was another fort a little farther on, though the force which it contained was, as it happened, now rather small, as about one hundred and fifty of the garrison had come the day before, by the special providence of God, as the English considered it, into the fort which had been assaulted, and had all been destroyed there with the rest of the occupants of the place.

Still the English party expected that those that remained of the other garrison would soon come forward to attack them; and after a very brief period of rest they began to put themselves again in array. From the brow of the hill on which they stood they could survey the mouth of the Thames and the waters of the Sound for some distance around. They looked out anxiously for the appearance of the fleet, which the reader will recollect had been sent back from Narragansett Bay, in order to meet them in the Thames and receive them on board. At length, to their unspeakable satisfaction, they saw the vessels coming into view around a point of land, and entering the harbor with a fair wind. The expedition was immediately arranged in order of march, and began to move forward toward the landing place where the vessels were to await them.

THE WOUNDED MEN.

The wounded men being unable to walk had to be carried, and the others were so weak and exhausted that four bearers were necessary to each man, so that two-thirds of all the men that remained unhurt were required to carry the wounded men and the arms and accoutrements belonging to them. This left only forty men free. The column thus

arranged began to descend the hill, but before they had proceeded far a troop of Indians from the other fortress, having heard the firing and seen the smoke, came in great haste to learn the cause. On seeing what had been done they were filled with rage and horror. They stamped upon the ground, tore their hair, and filled the air with frightful vociferations. They immediately set off down the hill in pursuit of the aggressors. But the English facing about received them with volleys of musketry and drove them back. They were shot down before they could get near enough to discharge their arrows with any effect. Finding themselves thus helpless they gave over the pursuit. Some went back to the smoking ruins of the fort, others scattered themselves about in the woods, half crazed with excitement and terror. Others still hurried forward to endeavor to find some ambuscade where they could shoot at the passing column of the enemy unobserved.

THE ENGLISH REGAIN THEIR SHIPS.

The English, when this skirmish was over, stopped at a brook at the foot of the hill to allow the men to rest and refresh themselves a few minutes. They also made a new arrangement for carrying the wounded, by hiring some of the Indians to per-

form this duty—Narragansetts or Mohegans probably, who, though they had kept aloof during the fight now hovered about the column on its march, and gathered around them when they halted.

When all was ready the column resumed its march. When they were to pass any swamp or thicket they shot bullets into it before approaching too near, in order to drive out any Indians that might lie concealed in it. Notwithstanding these precautions they were several times shot at from behind rocks and trees, but no one was hit by their arrows.

Whenever any of the Indians thus concealed were shot by any of the English, the Indians that accompanied the march would run off and bring in the heads of the men that fell. The English, moreover, set fire to and burned all the wigwams that came in their way.

They marched on in this way until they reached the river, and there came to a halt on the bank opposite to the place where the vessels were awaiting them.

RETURN TO FORT SAYBROOK.

The wounded men, and also a certain number of the others, were put on board the vessels, but as the accommodations were not sufficient for the whole company, including the friendly Indians, and as

Captain Mason was unwilling to leave his allies unprovided for, he retained on the shore about twenty of his best men, and took off also from the vessels about forty others—who had been brought by Captain Patrick from Massachusetts, and having arrived at Narragansett Bay after Mason had left, had come round in the vessels to join him in the Thames. With these troops as an escort for the Indians Mason marched by land along the coast, and in due time both his party and those conveyed by the fleet, arrived in safety at Fort Saybrook, where they were received with unbounded demonstrations of triumph and joy.

END OF THE PEQUOTS.

The portion of the tribe that remained, with Sassacus at their head, when the first paroxysms of resentment and rage had subsided, sank into a state of utter despair. The result of the gloomy and distracted consultations which they held was a determination to abandon the country and find their way, if they could, back to their former homes beyond the Hudson. They soon set out on this hopeless undertaking. But the English, utterly merciless in executing what they considered the righteous judgment of heaven against these Amalckites, were determined that they should not escape

They organized a new military expedition to pursue them. The track which the larger portion of the fugitives followed led along the coast of the Sound toward New Haven and Fairfield. They wished to keep as long as possible near the sea, in order to obtain fish for food, as they had no provisions to take with them, the winter having just passed, and all the supplies of the preceding year being exhausted. The English were, however, soon upon their track, and they harassed them so perpetually on the march as to give them no rest. Many of the Indians perished from hunger and exhaustion. At last the whole body of fugitives were brought to bay in a swamp, where they had taken refuge. This swamp was situated in what is now the town of Fairfield. Here they were surrounded by the English troops, and were hunted out of their hiding places and shot down as if they had been so many tigers. A number of the women and children were saved it is true, and were given to the Narragansetts and Mohegans, or distributed among the English settlements to be employed as slaves. They proved, however, to be so sullen and intractable that nothing could be done with them.

SASSACUS.

The sachem Sassacus, taking with him a number

of warriors, made his escape, although some time afterward what they said was his scalp was brought in to one of the colonies in answer to a reward which had been offered for his head. Some remnants of the tribe remained too, and their descendants reappeared often in the history of Connecticut. But the power of the race, as an element of resistance to the progress of English colonization on the American shores, was broken up forever.

CHAPTER IV.

WAR WITH KING PHILIP.

PHILIP'S FAMILY AND NAME.

AT the time of the first establishment of the Plymouth colony, and for many years afterward, the most powerful Indian chieftain within the limits of what is now Massachusetts was Massasoit. His home, and the central seat of his power, was in the southern part of the territory between the shores of the Massachusetts and Narragansett Bays. He made a treaty of peace and friendship with the English at a very early period, as is related at length in a former volume of this series, and he continued to observe this treaty faithfully as long as he lived. In consequence of the peaceful relations thus maintained with Massasoit, and of the influence which this chieftain exercised over the other tribes, the colonists were enabled to live at peace with all the Indians on their borders for more than forty years.

At length, about the year 1662, the old chief-

tain, who had been so long and so faithful a friend of the English, died. His oldest son died very soon after him, and the chieftainship, with all its powers and privileges, then devolved upon the second son, who received soon afterward the name and title of King Philip, by which he has ever since been known.

Of course both the name and the title were English, and were conferred upon the successor of their old friend by the colonists. The Indian names which were generally long, and often consisted of several words making together sometimes quite a little sentence, were awkward and inconvenient for the English to use, being difficult and uncertain both in spelling and pronunciation. As the Indians had no spelling, themselves, for their language, and as no system of writing had ever been developed among them, the English were obliged to spell Indian words as nearly as they could according to sound, and of course the spelling of any particular name, as expressed by different English writers, was endlessly varied. The pronunciation of the names was also very uncertain, as some of the words from the sentence which expressed the name were often left out, by way of curtailment. Persons who knew Philip in those days and had occasion to write his Indian name, represented the Indian

sound, as it struck their ears, in the following different modes :

Po-me-ta-com,
Pu-me-ta-com,
— me-ta-com-et.

And in other ways.

KING PHILIP MAKES PROFESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP.

The English felt quite anxious and uneasy about Philip when he came into power, having some reason to suspect that he had long been unfriendly to the English, and that he would immediately begin to concert hostile measures against them. He, however, very soon came to Plymouth and appeared before the court there, accompanied by several other chieftains, and formally and solemnly signified his desire to remain on the same terms of friendship with the colonists as had existed in the days of his father. In consequence of this declaration a new treaty of friendship and alliance was formed, which was signed by Philip and another chieftain, his uncle, and witnessed by four or five other sachems who were present on the occasion. All these Indians signed the document by making their mark.

TEN YEARS OF PEACE.

This treaty continued in force and was well

observed on both sides for about ten years, that is until the year 1671. During this interval a constant and friendly commercial intercourse was kept up between the colonies and the various tribes of Indians who were more or less under Philip's sway. The English bought furs and Indian corn of the natives, and sold them blankets, ornaments, and also unfortunately a number of guns and considerable supplies of gunpowder.

During this period, too, the English, as their settlements extended, made a great many purchases of land. The conveyances of these various parcels of land were made in Philip's name, the English drawing up the deeds and Philip signing them by making his mark. The lands thus conveyed are now included within the limits of the towns of New Bedford, Wrentham, Swansey, and many other places.

SIGNS OF A GATHERING STORM.

As years rolled on, however, signs and indications of an approaching conflict between the Indians and the English gradually appeared. We have, of course, only the English account of the origin and progress of these difficulties, but an impartial reader at the present day can hardly fail of coming to the conclusion that by their own showing the whites

were most in the wrong. Their increasing settlements crowded more and more closely on the Indian grounds. The authorities at Plymouth treated Philip and his brother sachems in a more and more overbearing manner. They summoned them frequently to appear before the general court at Plymouth, to answer for their conduct on frivolous charges. They required of Philip that he should deposit in their hands all the guns that he had, and made him agree to collect and surrender all that there were in the nation. When they got a portion of these arms into their possession they confiscated them, and they made it the ground of loud complaint against Philip that he was so slow in bringing in the remainder.

The difficulties thus occurring led to many negotiations, councils, conventions and treaties, which took place from time to time during a period of three or four years, that is until 1674. The demeanor of the English all the time seems to have been overbearing and aggressive, while Philip, on the other hand, appears to have done every thing in his power to conciliate and to satisfy them. The Plymouth government, however, would not be satisfied, and the complaints which they made against Philip in the representations which they forwarded to the Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay colonies,

in order to justify the hostile attitude they were assuming were such as these :

FRIVOLOUS COMPLAINTS OF THE PLYMOUTH AUTHORITIES.

That "he has neglected to bring in his arms to s as he had promised."

That "he has carried himself insolently and proudly toward us, in refusing to come down to the court when summoned."

That "he has harbored and abetted divers Indians who were vagabonds and enemies of the colony."

That "he went with several of his councilors to Massachusetts Bay to endeavor to insinuate himself into the magistrates and misrepresent matters to them."

That "he has showed great incivility to divers of ours at several times."

These were the principal complaints, and we must in fairness infer from them that in the alienation between the natives and the English which led in the end to such deplorable consequences, the poor savages and their unhappy chieftain were more sinned against than sinning.

GENERAL RELATIONS OF THE INDIAN AND ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS.

It must be borne in mind that at the time when

these events were transpiring, nearly half a century had elapsed since the first establishment of the English colonies in Massachusetts, and the settlements which the colonists had made were now so far extended into the interior that the Indian and the English villages were a good deal intermingled, and the people of the two races were to a considerable extent quite intimately associated. Many Indians came and lived with the white men, and were employed by them in various ways. The whites, too, had sent out several missionaries and teachers in hopes of converting the natives to Christianity, and teaching them the arts of civilization. Their efforts had been partially successful. Many Indians had been at least nominally converted. The Indian language had been reduced to writing, and a translation of the Scriptures had been commenced. In prosecuting these labors the missionaries availed themselves as much as they could of the aid of the natives. They selected the most promising of the young men that gathered around them, and taught them to read and write, and then employed them as teachers of Indian schools, and even as preachers of the Gospel.

JOHN SASSAMON.

We have specially to do in this narrative with

one of these native teachers and preachers named John Sassamon. He lived for a long time with the English and learned the language. He was also taught by the missionaries to read and write, and was employed by them to aid in the translation of the Scriptures. In and near some of the villages the Christian Indians, who were generally known by the name of praying Indians, were regularly assembled on the Sabbath for public worship, and Sassamon was accustomed to conduct the services on such occasions, and to preach to the congregations in the Indian tongue.

It ought to be here remarked, however, that among the Indians who remained with their tribes and adhered more tenaciously to their ancient habits and usages of savage life, there was a great deal of suspicion and jealousy felt toward these half-made converts to civilization and Christianity. They considered them as in some sense renegades from the faith of their fathers, and as liable, in case of any quarrel, to take sides with the foreigners, and against their countrymen.

After a time Sassamon left the English and entered into the service of King Philip as secretary and interpreter, for which offices his knowledge of the English language, and his ability to read and write, well qualified him.

INDIAN INTERPRETERS.

The degree of proficiency which these Indian interpreters made in the English language is shown pretty well by the letters written by them in Philip's name, and sent to the colonists, some of which are still extant. Here, for example, is one sent by Philip in answer to a summons which he had received from Plymouth to present himself there before the court. It is very probable that Sassamon himself was the amanuensis employed in producing it.

“ King Philip desire to let you understand that he could not come to the Court, for Tom, his interpreter, has a pain in his back that he could not travel so far, and Philip sister is very sik.”

Then after one or two sentences on business the letter adds :

“ He will come as soon as possible as he can to speak with you, and so I rest, you very loving friend Philip dwelling at mount hope nek.”

MT. HOPE.

During the time that Sassamon was in Philip's service he resided with him in the Indian stronghold on the shores of Narragansett Bay, which was

Philip's chief place of residence, as it had been that of his father Massasoit before him. This place had been generally known during the life of Massasoit, by its Indian name of Pokanoket, though the Narragansetts called it Powams. The English, however, gave it the name of Mt. Hope, by which it afterward was most generally known. Thus the titles of the famous chieftain were two. Among his own people he was called Metacomet of Pokanoket, and by the English, King Philip of Mt. Hope.

SASSAMON'S WARNING.

Sassamon continued in Philip's service for some years, and then returned to live with the English again; and under an arrangement then made with them he went to preach to a tribe of Indians called Nemaskets, who lived in and around the town of Middleborough, which is situated, as will be seen by the map, near a large pond called Assawomset Pond. Sassamon's ministrations among the Nemaskets seem to have been acceptable to them, for in a year or two after he went there, in 1674, the chiefs of the tribe made him a formal grant, by a written deed, signed by their marks, of twenty-seven acres of land for a home lot.

While Sassamon was living with these Indians,



and performing the duties of a minister of the gospel among them, he became convinced from certain things that came to his knowledge there, that King Philip was organizing a grand conspiracy among all the Indian tribes in that part of the country for a general war upon the colonies. Sassamon immediately went to Plymouth and confidentially communicated to the governor what he feared. He charged the governor, however, not to

reveal in any way the source from which he had received the information.

“If King Philip,” said he, “should have the least cause of suspicion against me, of having made such a communication to you, I should certainly be murdered.”

THE FATE OF SASSAMON.

The governor promised solemnly not to betray his informant, but he could not well avoid communicating what he had learned to the other authorities of the colony, and the story passing from one to another, finally, as is supposed, became known to Philip and his men, and the result proved that poor Sassamon's apprehensions of personal danger were too well founded. These events took place in the winter of 1674-5, and in the spring of that year Sassamon was suddenly missing. Search was made for him by his friends, and at length his hat and his gun were found upon the ice of Assawomset Pond, near a hole. Upon searching into the water his body was found and recovered. At first it was supposed that he might have fallen through the hole by accident, but on examining the body the neck was found to be broken, and there were other marks of violence which convinced the English that he had been murdered. The motive for the murder

they could not doubt was revenge on the part of the Indians on account of his having betrayed the secret of their conspiracy.

ARREST OF THE SUPPOSED MURDERERS.

The colonists were highly indignant at this deed, and were determined to bring the perpetrators of it to justice. In the course of the following spring three Indians were arrested and charged with the crime. They were brought to trial in Plymouth in June, before a jury composed of twelve Englishmen and four Indians. This arrangement evinced a disposition, on the part of the colonists, at least to pay all proper regard to appearances, in their disposal of the case. The names of the accused were Poggapanosso, Wampapaquan and Matashunnanno. The first of the three, who was supposed to be the principal actor in the murder, was one of Philip's councilors, and was generally known by the name of Tobias, which had been given him by the English. The second, Wampapaquan, was Tobias's son. The indictment under which the men were tried was as follows :

THE INDICTMENT.

For that being accused that they did with joynt consent, vpon the 29 January anno 1674, (or 1675 N. S.)

att a place Assowamset Pond, wilfully & of sett purpose, & of mallice fore thought, & by force & armes murder John Sassamon an other Indian by laying violent hands on him & striking him, or twisting his necke vntill hee was dead; & to hyde & conceale this theire said murder, att the tyme & place aforesaid did cast his dead body through a hole of the iyce into the said pond.

RESULT OF THE TRIAL.

We have no means of knowing what the evidence was against the accused Indians. The result of the trial was that the men were adjudged guilty by the unanimous verdict of the jury,—both the English and the Indians concurring in it. The men were soon afterward executed. Two were hung and the third was shot.

We might suppose that the evidence against these men was not very conclusive, since one of the historians of the day relates that the proof which was relied upon in the case of Tobias, was, that the body, having been disinterred for the purpose, and Tobias having been brought into the presence of it, it began to bleed afresh, although several months had elapsed from the time of the murder. It was a prevalent superstition in those days that such a test as this afforded a sure proof of the guilt or innocence of a supposed murderer.

On the other hand it does not appear that Philip, although he was greatly exasperated at the results of this trial, ever claimed that the men were really innocent of the deed. He only complained that the English should dare to execute his friends, one of them an actual officer of his court, on a charge too, which, even if true, did not come at all within their jurisdiction. "What right," he asked indignantly, "had Englishmen to judge Indians for a crime committed against an Indian?"

In a word, whatever may have been Philip's designs before this, he now determined upon war, and he immediately commenced making vigorous preparations for it.

THE OUTBREAK.

Both parties held back a little from striking the first blow, each being desirous of throwing the responsibility of actually beginning the conflict upon the other. At length, however, on the 24th of June, 1675, an Englishman, at a place called Swansey, which was a small settlement not far from Mt. Hope, shot at and wounded an Indian, in consequence of high words which arose out of the English having charged the Indians with stealing their cattle. This was the signal for open war. Swansey was at once assaulted and destroyed by the

Indians, and the colonies immediately raised a large armed force and marched into the Indian territory.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

The war continued for more than a year. A detailed account of the events of it would present to the mind of the reader only a series of sickening scenes of burning villages, of ravaged fields, of cruel massacres perpetrated on both sides against men, women and children, of terrible exposures and sufferings endured by troops bivouacking in woods and swamps, in the depth of winter, without tents or any other shelter, and of wretched groups of fugitive families driven from their homes at midnight by the whoop of their savage enemies, and flying in dismay from a fate worse than death.

Philip contrived to induce many of the neighboring tribes to join him, so that sometimes the warriors which the English had to encounter amounted to quite a large body of men. The principal commander on the English side was Captain Church, an officer who acquired great fame by the courage and energy with which he prosecuted the war.

When the Indians found the English too strong for them in the open field they retreated to some of their places of concealment, which were usually

secret recesses in the midst of extensive swamps containing, however, small tracts of dry ground sufficient for the wigwams necessary to shelter the men. They would fortify these positions by surrounding them with long walls of fallen trees, so compactly laid together, and with the trunks, tops and branches so inextricably interlaced, that a man could not possibly get through without cutting his way. The entrance to the interior in these cases was usually by the trunk of a single tree felled across some deep creek, and so laid that only one man could pass over at a time.

They used also to fortify the wigwams that were built within these lines, so far as to make them bullet proof, by piling up bags and baskets filled with corn inside, thus making the same military provision answer the double purpose of sustenance and defense.

THE FORTUNE OF WAR IS AGAINST THE INDIANS.

Although in the course of the summer and fall after hostilities broke out the Indians succeeded in inflicting infinite mischief upon the colonies, by burning towns, devastating plantations, murdering and scalping men, and carrying off multitudes of women and children into captivity still on the whole the fortune of war was against them. Philip

was very soon expelled from his strong hold at Mt. Hope. He was afterward driven from place to place, and so harassed that his supplies were soon exhausted, and the number of his warriors was greatly reduced. His money, that is his wampum, failed too. They say he had a coat or garment of some sort made wholly of strings of these beads, and this, when his other funds were expended, he was obliged to cut up, and pay away the several portions of it to eke out his resources.

THE GREAT SWAMP FIGHT AT SOUTH KINGSTON.

When winter came on—that is the winter of 1675–6, Philip gathered together all the forces that remained to him, and went off with them secretly across Narragansett Bay, and thence down toward the coast of Long Island Sound, and established his winter quarters in a swamp near the sea, in what is now South Kingston. Here he fortified himself in the manner already described. He hoped, moreover, that the English would not be able to discover the place of his retreat.

They did discover it, however, and though it was then the dead of winter, and the weather was intensely cold, the English troops marched to the place and a most terrible conflict ensued, the result of which was that the camp was taken, great num-

bers of the Indians were killed, the rest put to flight, and all the wigwams, together with the stores which they contained, were burnt to ashes.

The English suffered terribly themselves on this expedition on account of the intensity of the cold. The wounded men had to be carried afterward nearly twenty miles through frost and snow, without roads, and without conveniences of transportation of any kind, before they could receive proper attention. But the Indians suffered greater hardships and privations still. Indeed, Philip never recovered from the blow.

THE SUMMER OF 1676.

Still he would not yield. He continued the war during the summer of 1676, ravaging the country in every direction, and spreading terror and distress through almost every village and hamlet in the whole colony. His power was, however, all this time gradually melting away. His most able warriors had disappeared. Nearly all his relations had been killed. His wife and son had been taken prisoners, and it is said sold into slavery. His misfortunes, however, far from subduing his proud spirit only made him more desperate and reckless than ever. His exasperation and resentment seemed to have been made more intense by despair. He

killed one of his own best friends for merely suggesting to him the expediency of making peace.

PHILIP IS BETRAYED.

The brother of the man whom he thus put to death immediately went to the English and offered to show them the place where Philip was concealed. The English soldiers had long been endeavoring to discover where he was, and a great many attempts to waylay him, or to capture him, had already been made, but all in vain. They sometimes came very near succeeding. Once, for instance, a party of soldiers creeping stealthily through the woods where they expected to encounter Indians, suddenly saw one at a little distance, sitting upon a log. The soldier raised his gun and took aim; but just as he was about to fire he was arrested by another of the party who said, "Stop! do not fire. That is one of our friends."

The Indian hearing the sound took the alarm, and leaped off the log. It was Philip. Another of the party recognized him just as he moved, and immediately fired, but it was too late. Philip leaped down a bank and disappeared in the thickets along the margin of a stream. The soldiers rushed forward in pursuit, but no traces of the fugitive could be discovered.

PHILIP'S LAST HIDING PLACE.

The name of the Indian who offered to direct the English to where Philip was concealed, that is, the name which the English had given him, was Alderman. Captain Church immediately organized a party of armed men and put himself under Alderman's guidance. The party were led in this way to a swamp in the neighborhood of Philip's old residence at Mt. Hope. The unhappy chieftain having now few followers left, and probably having little hope that his fallen fortunes could ever be retrieved, had gradually made his way back to the neighborhood of his old home—like a tiger bereaved of its offspring, and hunted almost to death by its foes, coming back exhausted and despairing to spend its last moments of life as near as possible to its desolate lair.

Captain Church on being conducted to the place, where he arrived very early in the morning, proceeded silently and secretly to set a guard all around it, with muskets loaded and primed, and with orders to shoot down any one whom they should see attempting to escape.

THE DEATH OF PHILIP.

. These arrangements having been made, Captain Church put a certain number of men under the

charge of one of his officers, and ordered them suddenly to make a rush into the interior of the swamp, and find Philip in his wigwam there and seize him. This attempt was made. But as soon as Philip heard the alarm he leaped from the bed on which he was sleeping and fled.

He succeeded in saving himself from the first onset of his assailants, and endeavored to escape from the swamp. But on the confines of it he encountered one of the guards which had been stationed there to intercept him. The guard, as it happened, consisted of a Plymouth soldier named Caleb Cook, and of the very Indian, Alderman, who had guided the party to the place. Both aimed at the fugitive as they saw him attempt to creep stealthily away. Two rapid shots were heard and Philip fell. Some accounts say it was the gun of the Indian, and some that of the Plymouth man—a double-barrelled one—that took effect.

At any rate the unhappy chieftain fell, pierced by two bullet wounds, one of which passed through his heart. He dropped instantaneously, coming down upon his face in the mud and water with his gun under him.

CONTEMPORANEOUS ACCOUNT OF THE TRANSACTION.

The accounts which are given of the circumstan-

FELTER.

DEATH OF KING PHILIP.



ces of Philip's death vary somewhat in the histories of the day, though they agree substantially in representing the facts as narrated above. It may interest the reader to peruse one of these accounts. It was the story carried to London by the master of a vessel that sailed from Rhode Island soon after the event occurred. It is as follows :

“The swamp in which he was killed was so loose that our men sank to the middle in the mud. By chance, the Indian guide and the Plymouth man being together, the guide espied the Indian, and bids the Plymouth man shoot, whose gun went not off, only flashed in the pan. With that the Indian looked about and was going to shoot, but the Plymouth man prevented him, and shot the enemy through the body, dead, with a brace of bullets ; and approaching the place where he lay, upon search, it appeared to be King Philip, to their no small amazement and great joy. This seasonable prey was soon divided. They cut off his head and hands and conveyed them to Rhode Island, and quartered his body and hung it upon four trees. One Indian more of King Philip's company they then killed, and some of the rest they wounded. But the swamp being so thick and miry they made their escape.”

TROPHIES OF THE FIGHT.

The news of Philip's death was immediately communicated to Captain Church, who was encamped not far off. He at once repaired to the spot, and having ordered the body to be dragged out of the mire and laid upon the dry ground, he proceeded to have it dismembered and mutilated, as stated in the above account, in the most barbarous manner. One of the hands, which, as it happened, was very much scarred and deformed by an old wound, was given to Alderman, who took it to Boston and to other places, and exhibited it for a show to people who would pay for the privilege of seeing it.

Caleb Cook secured the gun with which the fatal shots were fired, and preserved it as a memento of the fight. The lock of this gun is now deposited in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The stock and barrel, it is said, still remain in the hands of Cook's descendants.

DREADFUL CHARACTER OF THE WAR.

The war was substantially ended with the death of Philip, but it was a dreadful calamity to the white men, and very destructive to all their settlements in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut while it endured. It is estimated that thirteen towns were destroyed, six hundred dwelling houses

burned, and six or eight hundred English persons killed. No language can describe the scenes of suffering and horror that were enacted during the continuance of this awful conflict.

At the termination of it, however, the Indian power in New England was effectually broken, and though isolated cases of outbreak and massacre continued to occur from time to time for many years, there was never afterward any general or organized attempt on the part of the natives, within the boundaries of New England, to oppose the irresistible progress of the white man's settlements along the river courses and over the hunting grounds of their native land.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAKES AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN CANADA.

DURING the time while the English settlements were thus increasing in wealth and population along the Atlantic sea-board, and gradually extending themselves into the interior, a line of French settlements was advancing more rapidly still, so far at least as penetrating into the interior of the country was concerned, on the northern frontier of what now forms the territory of the United States, that is, the frontier extending along the line of the lakes, and thence down the Mississippi.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER.

The region which was thus penetrated by the French by the way of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, was very different from that occupied by the English, both in respect to climate and to the general face of the country. Lying as it did much

farther to the north, the climate was colder, and the winters were much more severe. The land was, in general, comparatively level and flat, and was occupied by boundless forests, and intersected everywhere with slowly flowing streams, the descent being generally too little to create rapid currents. Besides these streams the country was half covered with lakes which, large and small, were innumerable. The formation of these lakes was owing in great measure to the general flatness of the country which caused all the depressions in the soil to fill with water, and to remain full, since the fresh supplies brought continually by the rains were more than sufficient to replace that which slowly flowed away through the sluggish outlet streams.

RAPID ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

One would have supposed that such a country as this, cold and desolate as it must have been in a state of nature, would have been penetrated with much greater difficulty by white men, and that their advances into it would have been much more slow, than in the warmer, more varied, and in all respects more attractive regions that lay at the southward of it. But the contrary was the fact. The innumerable lakes and ponds, and the deep and sluggish streams which connected them, formed an excellent

system of internal navigation for the Indian canoes, and made it possible to make long excursions into the interior and to penetrate far into the forests with very little land transportation, and consequently with but little fatigue. Then the forests were filled with animals, and the long and bitterly cold winters made the fur with which these animals were clothed very fine, and thick, and warm. The whole country, too, was filled with Indians who lived by roaming through the woods in search of game, the flesh of which had furnished food, and the skins, clothing, to them and to their ancestors for centuries. These Indians were ready to entrap, and take, and bring to the French adventurers who came among them, any quantity they might desire of the finest and most valuable furs, in exchange for beads, iron hatchets, guns, gunpowder, and also, I am sorry to say, rum.

In consequence of this state of things it happened that while the English settlers along the Atlantic sea-board were slowly extending into the interior, advancing generally no faster and no farther than they could secure the ground by the establishment of permanent agricultural settlements upon it,—the French were pushing on far more rapidly along the St. Lawrence and on the lakes, intent only on getting in where they could find the richest supplies

of furs and skins. They built forts, and established factories and trading houses, and around some of these stations towns gradually sprang up ; but in the main the country was very partially occupied. It was, however, penetrated and explored in every direction.

FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE WITH THE INDIANS.

In making these explorations the French contrived to keep always on very friendly terms with the natives. They succeeded much better, in fact, in this respect than the English did, in their agricultural colonies. This has generally been attributed to the greater versatility of the French character, which made it more easy for the French settlers to accommodate themselves to the Indian modes of life, and national usages. It may be, however, that the different circumstances in the two cases account in some measure for the difference of the result. The English, in establishing their settlements, required substantially the whole of the ground. Just in proportion as they advanced the Indians were necessarily dispossessed and forced to retire. They could not derive any material benefit from intercourse with the natives, and so had no interest in cultivating a friendly intercourse with them. All they desired in respect to such savages was to

have them move back out of their way. There could not well be a state of things more likely to lead to heart-burnings and quarrels.

The French, on the other hand, having for their object mainly the trade in furs, could do nothing without the Indians, and they had consequently every possible inducement to cultivate friendly relations with them. They could not themselves entrap the minks and the beavers, but relied solely on the Indian hunters for this work. In their excursions into the interior too, they were entirely dependent on the Indians for means of transportation, being obliged to navigate the intricate waters in Indian canoes, with Indians to guide them, and to paddle them, and to convey their goods and stores across the portages by which they passed from one stream to another. They were, also, in all these excursions obliged to place themselves to a great degree in the hands and at the mercy of the different tribes through whose territories they passed, so that they were compelled, as it were, to do every thing in their power to cultivate a good understanding with them.

THE MISSIONS.

The ecclesiastical authorities of France, moreover, interested themselves very much in sending

out missionaries in company with these early settlers, in hopes of converting the Indians to Christianity. Many of the principal of these missionaries were Franciscans—that is, monks of the order of St. Francis. If we may judge from the hardships, privations and sufferings which these apostles endured, we must suppose that they were honest and sincere in their labors. They evinced a great deal of enterprise and courage in exploring the country, making long voyages along the lakes and rivers, and taking a seeming pleasure in penetrating as far as they could into the interior of the continent, and in gaining access to the remotest and most unapproachable of the savage tribes. Many of them wrote exceedingly interesting accounts of their adventures, and of the modes of life which they led among the Indians.

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN.

A very prominent man among the earliest of the French explorers of this northern country was Samuel Champlain. He brought over a small colony from France in 1608, some years before the settlement of Plymouth by the Pilgrims, and after going up the St. Lawrence some way, he landed, and there he and the men who were with him constructed huts on the bank, to shelter them through the

winter. This hamlet of huts became afterward the city of Quebec. He discovered and explored the lake lying between Vermont and New York, which has since been called by his name; and he also extended his explorations into all the surrounding country.

The object, however, which he and his followers had in view being chiefly to buy furs of the Indians, the settlement which they made at Quebec was chiefly a trading station, and it was occupied in so great a measure by adventurers, who were continually coming and going, that for a long time there was very little increase in the fixed population. Twenty years after the first foundation of Quebec the whole population consisted of only about one hundred persons.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS TOWARD THE WEST.

Still the work of exploring the country and penetrating into the interior went on. In this work the priests, at first Franciscan monks, and afterward Jesuits, were always in the advance. They made their way with a most courageous and persevering spirit into the very heart of the Indian country, preaching Christianity, and carrying with them crucifixes and pictures of the virgin, which seemed to possess a great charm over the minds of the

savages—they doubtless regarding them not as symbols merely, but as direct objects of worship. The missionaries set up chapels too, built like the Indian wigwams, with mats for drapery, and in them imitated as well as they could the imposing and mysterious ritual practiced in the grand cathedrals of their native land.

The French were confined, however, in these advances into the wilderness mainly to the northern shores of the lakes and of the river St. Lawrence; for the Indians on the opposite side of this line were in a state of deadly hostility to each other, and the friendly relations which the French had established with the tribes on the northern side, necessarily made those on the southern side their enemies. Thus though they could push their exploring and missionary expeditions toward the west, without much difficulty, so long as they kept on the northern side of the lakes, all their efforts to penetrate to the southward of this line, into what is now the state of New York, and to establish missionary stations there, failed.

On the northern side of the frontier, however, the settlements went on increasing in numbers and strength, until at length, in 1670, about half century after the first attempts at colonization were made at Quebec the whole colony, which was then

known by the name of New France, contained a French population of about eight thousand souls.

These settlements were chiefly on the line of the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Lake Ontario. Quebec was the capitol, and the Count de Frontenac was at this time the governor.

THE FUR TRADE.

Although the permanent settlements were thus in the main confined to the banks of the St. Lawrence, the missionary stations, as has already been said, extended far into the interior, along the line of the lakes, and trading expeditions on quite an extended scale penetrated to great distances. One of these expeditions is mentioned which consisted, on its return, of sixty canoes, paddled by Indians, and all heavily laden with furs which the Indians had sold to the traders, and were now helping them to bring home to Quebec.

REPORTS ABOUT THE GREAT RIVER.

The missionaries who succeeded in making their way farthest to the west reported from time to time to the traders that the Indians often told them about a very great river lying still beyond, and which flowed to the southward. They called the river by a name which in their language signified

the *great river*. The missionaries, in writing the word as it sounded to them, spelled it Mesasippi. They felt, moreover, a strong desire to go to it and explore the country through which it flowed. There was one of the missionaries in particular, Father Marquette as he was called, a very devoted and fearless man, who was now stationed at the Straits of Michilimackinac, or Mackinaw as it is now more commonly called, among a tribe of Indians called the Illinois. Father Marquette sent word by the traders to the governor at Quebec, informing him of what he had heard about the great river, and of his desire to go in search of it.

THE GOVERNOR PLANS AN EXPEDITION.

After deliberating on the subject the governor at length determined on sending an expedition to see if this great river could be found. He made inquiries for a suitable person to undertake the enterprise, and at length made choice of an energetic and active young man named Joliet, a trader, who had been born and brought up in the country, and had spent a large part of his life in making trading excursions in the forests, so that he was very familiarly acquainted with life in the woods and with the Indian modes of travelling, and he had also acquired a considerable knowledge of some of the Indian

languages. Joliet was to proceed to Mackinaw and there Father Marquette was to join him.

SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION.

The plan thus arranged was carried into effect. Joliet went to Mackinaw and there the necessary preparations were made. Two birch bark canoes were provided, which, though pretty large, were so light that in case of coming to rapids in a river, or to any place where it would be necessary to pass by land from one piece of water to another, four men could carry them on their shoulders across the portage. These canoes were loaded with provisions, consisting of Indian corn and some dried meats. The company consisted of Joliet, Father Marquette, and five Frenchmen who were employed as boatmen. Some Indian attendants, who were to help paddle the canoes and to act as guides, went with them a part of the way.

The expedition thus organized set off from the station at the Straits of Michilimackinac on the 17th of May, 1673. This was the day celebrated in the Catholic church as commemorative of what they designate as the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary. Father Marquette says, in giving an account of these transactions :

“ Above all I put our voyage under the protec-

tion of the Blessed Virgin, Immaculate, promising her that if she did us the grace to discover the great river I would give it the name of Conception; and that I would give that name to the first mission which I should establish among those new nations.

FATHER MARQUETTE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS ADVENTURES.

Father Marquette wrote a journal during this voyage, which contained a minute and full account of the adventures which the party met with. They had a sort of map of the country which they were going to explore, made by Father Marquette himself from the descriptions and rude drawings which the Indians had given him. On this map were marked all the rivers which came in the way along the course which they were to pursue, and also the names of the different tribes of Indians through whose country they were to pass.

Father Marquette was already acquainted with the country and the Indians for some distance on the way. Indeed, there was a missionary station among some Indians living upon Green Bay, on the western shores of Lake Michigan, which was on the route proposed, and it was to this point that the course of the expedition was first directed.

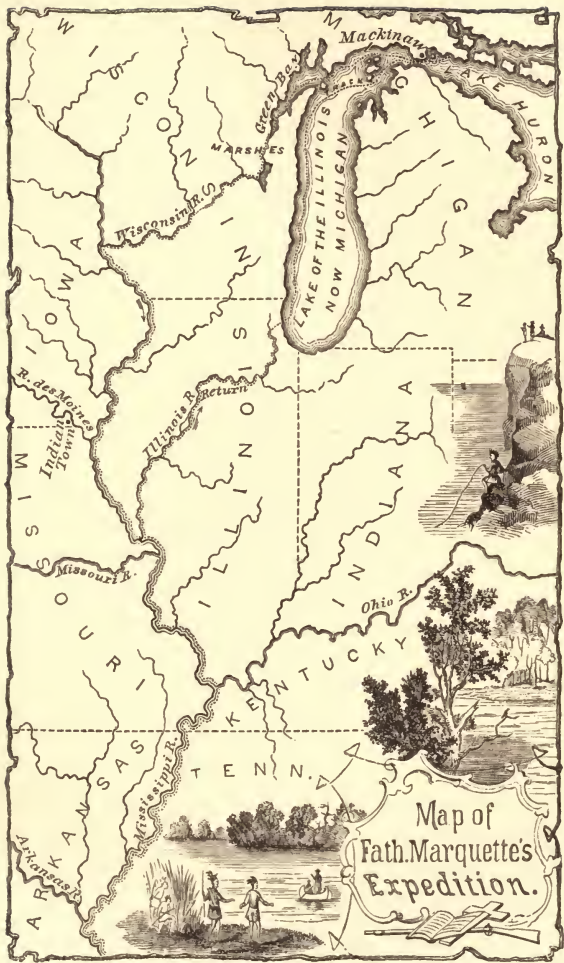
They had a few miles to go over the waters of Lake Huron, as the place from which they departed

was on the northern shore of that lake, near the Strait. They made their paddles ply merrily, Father Marquette says, over this part of the way, and after reaching the Strait and passing through it, they entered the waters of Lake Michigan—then called the lake of the Illinois—and crossing the northern extremity of it, they entered Green Bay,

THE WILD OATS.

On the shores of this bay they landed to visit a tribe of Indians called the Wild Oats. The name thus given to the tribe was not intended to denote any particular tendency to thoughtless dissipation on the part of the younger portion of the savages composing it, but only to signify that their food consisted chiefly of a wild sort of grain, which the French called wild oats, but which has since been more generally known by the name of wild rice. It seems the country all around the shores of Green Bay is low and swampy, and it produced in those days immense quantities of this plant, the seeds of which the Indians used to gather in their canoes by paddling about among the patches of it, growing in the water, and then bending the heads over the gunwales of the canoes and knocking the grain off by blows of a stick.

The grain thus gathered was first thoroughly



dried, and then the Indians would put it in a bag loosely, and placing the bag in a cavity made in the ground they would trample upon it a long time until the husks or envelopes of the seeds were rubbed off. They then would pour out the whole and separate the grain from the chaff by winnowing it.

DISCOURAGEMENTS.

Father Marquette and his party were very hospitably received by the Wild Oats, but when Father Marquette informed them what the object of the expedition was, namely, to explore the country as far as the Great River, for the purpose as he said, "of discovering distant nations, and instructing them in the mysteries of our holy religion," they seemed very much surprised, and they began very urgently to discourage the undertaking. They said the country was full of warlike nations that never spared strangers coming among them, but would tomahawk the whole party without any warning or provocation; that the Great River, if they ever should reach it, was very dangerous to those who were not well acquainted with it; that their canoes would certainly be engulfed and destroyed; that there were besides great monsters in the river, big enough to swallow the canoes and the men together

and that there was a horrid demon there too, whose roaring could be heard at a great distance, and who seized and devoured all that came into his dominions

Father Marquette thanked the Wild Oats for their advice, but he said he could not follow it. The salvation of souls was concerned in the work he had undertaken, and for that cause he was willing to incur any dangers, and if necessary, to lay down his life.

So after remaining a short time at the Wild Oats village, in order to rest and refresh the men, the expedition went on.

FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION.

The course which the expedition had determined to pursue in order to reach the Mississippi was to ascend the principal river emptying into Green Bay, as far as to its source, and thence to pass across by land to a large river which the Indians had represented to them they would find there, flowing toward the west and south, and which would take them to the Mississippi. The first named river, which they now commenced to ascend, was the Fox river, as it is called at the present day. After ascending it for some distance the expedition came, on the 7th of June, to the country of a tribe of Indians called the Maskoutens, who lived in wig-

wams made of mats, which they could roll up and pack in their canoes when they wished to remove their habitations. This was the extreme point to which any missionaries had yet penetrated, and Father Marquette had the satisfaction of witnessing a proof of the success which had attended the labors of his brother priests, in the form of a large cross which was planted in the centre of the Indian town, and stood there adorned with several valuable skins, red belts, bows and arrows, and other such things, which the savages had brought as thank-offerings to the Great Manitou, for having had pity on them during the past winter, and sending them plenty of game when they were in great danger of starving.

This Indian town was delightfully situated on an eminence, which commanded a boundless view of plains and prairies, extending in every direction to the horizon, the whole expanse adorned with beautiful groves of trees that were scattered over it, and rich with waving grass and flowers.

CROSSING THE PORTAGE.

As soon as the expedition arrived at this place M. Joliet called the sacheins together, and explained to them the object and design of the journey he had undertaken. He himself, he said, was sent by the governor to discover new countries, and Father

Marquette by Almighty God to illumine them with the light of the gospel. They were aware, they said, of the dangerous character of the work they had undertaken, but they did not fear danger or even death in the prosecution of it. They concluded by asking the sachems to furnish them with two guides to show them the way across the portage to the river flowing west. This the sachems readily consented to do. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, they embarked again, with these two guides joined to the party. A great concourse of Indians assembled on the bank to witness their departure, all wondering to see seven Frenchmen in two canoes daring to penetrate into a country so remote and dangerous, and filled, as they supposed, with such savage and ferocious foes.

The tract of country lying between the two rivers was low and level, filled with swamps and meandering creeks and streams, and so overgrown with aquatic grass and wild rice that it was very difficult to find the channels. The guides, however, knew the way, and finally they came to a landing place where there was a path through the woods to another landing place on the western river. The distance across this portage was about a mile. The provisions and the canoes were all safely transported across this distance and reëmbarked. The guides

who had remained to help in this work, left the party when it was accomplished, and returned home leaving our adventurers to find their way down the western river guided by the current alone.

VOYAGE ON THE WISCONSIN.

“Before embarking,” says Father Marquette in his narrative of the expedition, “we all began together a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, which we practiced every day, addressing her particular prayers to put under her protection both our persons and the success of our voyage. Then after having encouraged one another”—probably by giving three cheers on the bank, or in some such way,—“we got into our canoes. The river on which we embarked is called Meskousing,”—according to the present orthography Wisconsin. “It is very broad with a sandy bottom, forming many shallows which render navigation very difficult. It is full of vine-clad islets. On the banks appear fertile lands diversified with wood, prairie and hill. We saw no small game or fish, but deer and moose in considerable numbers.”

DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

After going down this river about a hundred and twenty miles, a distance which the two canoes were

about a week in accomplishing, the party reached the mouth of it, and to their inexpressible joy saw before them the broad and imposing current of the Great River moving onward with a slow but majestic progress toward its destination, a thousand miles away, in the Gulf of Mexico.

PROGRESS DOWN THE RIVER.

They were not satisfied with simply reaching the river, but proceeded at once to launch out upon it and follow it on its course in order to examine the country through which it flowed. They paddled on in their canoes all day, watching every thing that appeared along the banks, and often landing to ascend a bluff or hill in order to obtain views of the interior. When evening came on they stopped to build a fire and cook their supper on the shore, and then going out into the stream they anchored the boats for the night in some still water formed by a bay or an eddy, as far as possible from the shore, and there they all lay in the boats to sleep, being in fear of an attack from the Indians if they were to encamp on the land. They saw no Indians, however, for a long time, but Father Marquette, in his narrative, gives a very curious account of the different kinds of fish which they caught from the water, and of the animals they saw upon the land

Among these last the immense herds of buffaloes which from time to time came into view on the prairies, excited their wonder to the highest degree.

AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

They went on in this way for about a week, that is until the 25th of June, during which time they had descended the river about one hundred and eighty miles, and thus far without seeing any traces of inhabitants. At length one day in sailing along the shore, they came to a place where there were a great many footsteps on the beach, and a path leading from it through a beautiful prairie. They concluded that this path must lead to some Indian habitations, and they at once determined to explore it.

This extremely hazardous duty was undertaken by M. Joliet and Father Marquette in person. They left the men to take care of the canoes, directing them to station themselves at a little distance from the shore, and to guard with extreme vigilance against a surprise. The two chiefs then set out to follow the path, creeping along carefully and silently in hopes of being able to see the Indians without being seen by them. They had the courage to proceed in this way for six miles, when at length they came in sight of a village on the banks of the

river, which here, as it would seem, made a great turn. There were two other villages in view, farther off, on a hill.

M. Joliet and Father Marquette stopped when they saw the village, and after reconnoitering it a few minutes, determined to proceed and announce themselves, thus of course putting themselves entirely at the mercy of the savages, and wholly uncertain what their reception would be. "We first," says Father Marquette, "recommended ourselves to God with all our hearts; and having implored his help, we passed on."

They were still not discovered by the Indians, and they went on until they were near enough to hear the voices of the people in the village before they were seen by them. They thought it best not to go any nearer, without announcing themselves, and so stopped in the path, and both together shouted out aloud.

On hearing this sound the Indians came rushing to the doors of their wigwams, and stood there for a moment gazing upon the strangers in mute astonishment. M. Joliet and Father Marquette in the mean while remained where they were, waiting to see what the Indians would do.

Now it happened that these Indians belonged to one of the Illinois tribes, and though they lived far

beyond the most remote of the French settlements, they had often heard of the French, and of the profitable trade which the Indians carried on with them wherever they came, and also of the amicable spirit they had always manifested in their dealings with the natives. They were, accordingly, now disposed to receive the strangers in a friendly manner, though inclined at first to act with considerable caution and ceremony. After some delay they seemed to appoint four of their number to come out and meet the strangers. These four, who were men advanced in age and of venerable appearance, came slowly forward. Two of them bore each what the Indians called the *calumet*, or the pipe of peace. These pipes were richly adorned in the Indian fashion, and trimmed with many different kinds of feathers. The men advanced very slowly, and with many pauses and ceremonies, and when they came pretty near, Father Marquette observed that in their dress they wore certain articles of European manufacture, by which he judged that the people had already had some connection of traffic, direct or indirect, with the traders, and that they were probably friends and allies of the tribe which the traders visited. This greatly encouraged him to hope that they would give him and his companions a friendly reception.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH THE INDIANS.

Father Marquette was not deceived in these expectations. After some parleying, accompanied by many ceremonies, among which were the solemn smoking of the pipes of peace by all the party, M. Joliet and Father Marquette were led to the village and there very hospitably received. We have not space to describe here all the curious incidents that occurred. It is sufficient to say that the Indians seemed greatly rejoiced that the Frenchmen had come among them, and after a time they conducted the strangers some miles into the interior, to the grand sachem's town, great numbers of the people following them as they went, some running on forward, and stationing themselves on the grass by the way side and so waiting there until they came up to see them go by, and all manifesting the greatest pleasure and joy.

RECEPTION BY THE SACHEM.

The sachem was as much pleased as his people had appeared to be with the coming of these guests, and he received them with more smokings of the calumet, and other ceremonies of hospitality according to the Indian fashion. These performances were accompanied with the pronouncing of eloquent speeches on one side and on the other, and the

making of presents —those on the Indian side consisting of an elegant calumet and also of a little boy offered as a slave. Then came a grand entertainment, consisting of several courses, in each of which was produced some special Indian dainty. The two strangers were then conducted about the town and shown every thing that was curious in it. They spent the night too in the place, sleeping in the sachem's wigwam, and the next morning they were conducted back to their canoes by the sachem himself, and by an escort of six hundred of his people!

The Indians remained on the bank to see the canoes set sail on their way down the river. The sachem, however, first did all in his power to dissuade the party from going any farther, on account of the terrible dangers to which he said they would certainly be exposed; but they replied that they must proceed, though they promised to call and pay him another visit on their return

FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION.

It is supposed that the place where the interview with the Indians above described occurred was at the mouth of the river Des Moines, which river, as will be seen by the map, falls into the Mississippi near the northern border of the present state of Missouri. After leaving this place the party in the

canoes proceeded down the Mississippi, following the windings of the stream, and meeting with a great variety of adventures, all of which Father Marquette describes fully in his narrative, but which it would carry us too far away from the immediate subject of this volume to repeat. One great object of interest with them in the voyage was to ascertain the ultimate course and outlet of the river. It might, for all they knew when they first commenced the navigation of it, either turn to the eastward and empty into the Atlantic, in the neighborhood of Delaware or Chesapeake Bay,—or continue its course to the southward and empty into the Gulf of Mexico, thus identifying itself with the great river which De Soto had long since discovered in that region; or it might turn to the westward and finally reach the Pacific somewhere on the coast of California.

Father Marquette and his party pursued their voyage until they considered this question as settled. They went down the river more than a thousand miles until they reached the Arkansas river, which joins the Mississippi not more than four or five hundred miles from the Gulf. Father Marquette thought that they were much nearer the Gulf than that, and both he and M. Joliet were extremely desirous of finishing their work by going down to

the mouth of the river. But they were afraid that if they should do so they would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, who had before this time taken possession of many portions of the country lying on the shores of the gulf, and so they concluded to return.

RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION.

They varied their route considerably on their return, for instead of going up the Mississippi to the Wisconsin they turned in at the Illinois, and passing across a portage there they entered Lake Michigan at the southern extremity of it, and so coasting along the western shore of the lake they finally returned to Father Marquette's home at Mackinaw, in safety, having been absent nearly all summer, during which time they had performed a voyage in their canoes of more than two thousand miles.

FATHER MARQUETTE RECEIVES HIS REWARD.

The hardships, exposures and sufferings which Father Marquette endured on this expedition were very severe, and the malaria arising from the swamps and morasses through which, or along the borders of which, he had continually to pass, brought on a disease, which in the end cost him his

life. He said, however, on his return from the expedition that he had been amply repaid for all his toil and suffering, for he had certainly secured the salvation of one soul, and that was an abundant reward. The soul which he considered himself as having saved was that of an infant child, which was brought to the bank of the river, when at the point of death, to be baptized by the Father before it died. The occurrence took place on the return voyage up the river. The parents belonged to the tribe to which he had preached salvation through Jesus, on the way. The bringing of the child to him not only pleased Father Marquette very much, as evincing the faith of the parents, but as also making sure of the salvation of the child, through the efficacy of the right of baptism which he performed upon it, at the water's edge, before it ceased to breathe.

CHAPTER VI.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

GROWTH AND EXTENSION OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

THE successful result of Father Marquette's voyage led soon to the fitting out of other expeditions for exploring the country watered by the Mississippi and its branches, and for laying the foundation of new missionary and trading stations throughout that region, until at length, in the course of a few years, the English colonies found themselves hemmed in on the north and west, along the whole line of the lakes and the Mississippi, by colonies of France, and as might be expected, feelings of jealousy and ill-will soon began to spring up between the two communities. The French and the English seem determined to hate each other every where and at all times, and the hardships and sufferings which these different representatives of a common civilization endured, and which we might have supposed would have formed a bond of interest and sympathy

to link them indissolubly together, in reality seemed to have no such effect. The dividing zone of mutual repulsion and animosity, which has for so many centuries extended along the Straits of Dover and the English Channel, now crossed the Atlantic, and spread itself along the line of the Lakes and of the Mississippi, forming an unbroken wall of aversion and hate, for a distance of two thousand miles.

PERMANENT CONDITION OF HOSTILITY.

The hostility which was felt by these two sets of colonists was permanent and continual, though sometimes for long periods suppressed in respect to the outward manifestations of it. It was, indeed, liable at any time to break out in connection with conflicts in which the Indians were engaged, for the tribes to which the French allied themselves were always mortal enemies of those who attached themselves to the English. In general, however, the colonies remained at peace so long as the mother countries in Europe were not at war. But whenever France and England became involved in hostilities in Europe, the colonies of the two countries found themselves very soon involved in the struggle. The first great occasion on which this occurred was the conflict which in the history of the country is called King William's war.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR.

King William's war, so called, took place in consequence of the great English Revolution of 1688. This revolution consisted in the deposition by the English people of King James II., and the placing upon the throne in his stead, his daughter Mary, and with her, her husband William, who was also a descendant of the English royal family. King James was inclined to the Catholic faith in religion, and to very exalted ideas of kingly power and prerogative in politics. The object of the English people in removing him was to establish the Protestant religion firmly and finally as the religion of the country, and also greatly to reduce the prerogatives of the sovereign, and increase the power of the people, in the government of the realm.

The French government espoused the cause of James in this quarrel. The King of France gave the exiled king an asylum in his court, and promised soon to restore him to his throne. Of course this at once led to war between the king of France and William, who was now established as king of England. The breaking out of this war in Europe led to hostilities between the French and English colonies in America. The conflict that ensued is accordingly known in history as King William's war.

This William stands numbered in the line of English kings as William the Third, having been preceded on the throne by William the Conqueror and William Rufus. The reign is, however, more usually designated as that of William and Mary, on account of Mary's being associated with her husband in the exercise of sovereignty, she herself being more directly in the line of succession than he.

PLANS OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE PART OF THE FRENCH.

Although the French colonies were far inferior to the English both in population and resources, they determined at once to assume the aggressive, and they formed their plans very deliberately, even before war was declared. One of the most important of their proposed operations was an attack upon New York.

PROPOSED ATTACK UPON NEW YORK.

The governor who had been ruling over Canada for some time before the war, and who had succeeded the Marquis of Frontenac mentioned in the last chapter, had not been prosperous in his administration, and Frontenac was appointed again, just at the period that preparations were making for the war. He was in France at the time, but he made

arrangements for having two ships of war sent out from the port of Rochefort, under the command of a captain named De la Caffinière. These vessels were to proceed to New York and take their station off the harbor, and wait there for Frontenac, who was himself first to proceed to Quebec and there organize an armed force to come to New York and join De la Caffinière; and they together were to attack the place. If they succeeded they were to allow all the Catholic portion of the population to remain, but the whole Protestant portion they were to send off to New England or to Pennsylvania, except the civil and military officers, and the men of influence and wealth, who were all to be seized and held as prisoners until they should redeem themselves by paying large sums of ransom money. By this means it was thought that the whole character of the colony would be changed,—the Protestant masses being exiled, and the leading men ruined by ransom money and confiscations.

And for the purpose of securing the conquest after it should be made, it was arranged that the houses, within a certain distance of the town, all around, should be destroyed, in order that the conquerors might be better able to defend the place in case the English should attempt to recover it from them.

FAILURE OF THE PLAN.

The scheme, however, thus finely contrived, failed entirely of being carried into effect. The French captain could of course do nothing effectual except to blockade the port until Frontenac should come from Quebec with a military force sufficient to make a landing and take possession of the town. It was understood from the beginning that there might be some uncertainty about this, for Frontenac did not know in what condition he might find his government on arriving at Quebec. He, therefore, had given orders to De la Caffinière to cruise off the mouth of the river from the 1st of November, at which time he was expected to arrive there, until the 10th of December, and then in case Frontenac did not come, he was to go away. Under these instructions De la Caffinière proceeded to New York with his ships, and after waiting until the time had expired, and without any signs having appeared of Frontenac's coming, he was obliged to retire, in order to escape the wintry storms which were then coming on—and so the whole plan was abandoned.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST SCHENECTADY.

Another of the plans formed by the French at the commencement of this war, was unfortunately more successful. It was an expedition, consisting

of about two hundred Canadians and Indians, which was sent down from Montreal in the depth of the following winter, by way of Lake Champlain, to attack the English settlements on or near the Hudson river. The first intention of the party was to attack Albany, then already quite an important town. But the Indian chiefs belonging to the expedition thought that the force was not large enough to make an attempt against so strong a place, and so the party directed their course toward Schenectady, a smaller settlement lying about seventeen miles west of Albany.

It was in the dead of winter that this expedition commenced its march, and the people of Schenectady, not dreaming of the possibility of an armed force making its way for hundreds of miles through the wilderness, at that season of the year, were reposing in perfect security, so that although the town was enclosed by a stockade for defence in case of danger, the people did not even station sentinels at the gates, but left them wholly unguarded.

SURPRISE AND MASSACRE OF THE INHABITANTS.

It was about eleven o'clock on the night of the 8th of February that the invading horde arrived before the town. There was a violent snow storm raging. The fallen snow deadened the soldiers'

footsteps, and the raging of the storm was sufficient to drown all other sounds. Still the troops advanced with the greatest caution. The soldiers were commanded to wrap their swords and guns in their cloaks so as completely to muffle them, and not to speak a word as they advanced. These arrangements being made they all crept stealthily forward through the gates into the town.

When the whole troop had entered, and the points of attack had been chosen, they all suddenly sent forth a volley of most vociferous and unearthly yells, and immediately assailed the doors of the houses with axes and beams of wood, and crashing through them sprang upon the occupants as they leaped from their beds in indescribable terror and dismay. Mothers ran shrieking to save their children. Husbands vainly endeavored to protect their wives. Others rushed for arms in hopes of making some defence. But defence was out of the question. The French with their savage allies soon obtained complete possession of the place. Nearly all the able-bodied men were put to the sword. The houses were set on fire, and all but two in the whole village were burned to the ground.

Of these two one was spared because a French officer, who had been wounded in the fray, had been carried into it, and the other because the wife of the

owner of it had shown kindness to some French prisoners on a former occasion.

Of the whole population only about sixty persons escaped with their lives. These were almost exclusively old men, women and children. About half of these were taken and held as prisoners. The rest made their escape in the direction toward Albany, flying half dressed and in confusion, through the woods, with no light to guide their way but the whiteness of the falling snow, though the heavens behind them were lurid with the flames of their burning dwellings. These wretched fugitives pressed on in their awful flight for hours, all the time breathless with exertion, and bewildered by terror and despair ; and so cold was the night that nearly all of them were more or less frozen in their limbs, before they reached a place of shelter.

FINAL RESULT OF THE EXPEDITION.

The alarm was of course immediately spread to Albany, and to all the towns and settlements in the colony, and the whole people sprang at once to arms. Of course so small a number as two hundred could not hope to maintain itself against so extended a population when once it was aroused, and nothing was now left for the party of invaders but to make the best of their way back to Montreal

They accordingly set out at once on their retreat, but their provisions were now in a great measure exhausted, and after suffering incredible privations and hardships, at the commencement of the march, they found they could no longer keep together, but must separate into small parties in hopes of finding more food. They were pursued, too, by the enemies whose resentment they had so cruelly aroused. Many of them were killed, some were taken prisoners. Numbers perished of cold and hunger, and at last only a small and miserable remnant succeeded in making their way back to Montreal.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS.

There were two other expeditions sent off at nearly the same time with this one against Schenectady. One was fitted out at Quebec, and the other at Three Rivers, a town intermediate between Quebec and Montreal. The first was directed against the settlements in Maine, at and near the mouth of the Kennebec, and the second against those in New Hampshire. These two expeditions were comparatively small, but they were equally successful with the one already described. After destroying the forts against which they were sent, burning many houses, and massacring many of the inhabitants, they made their way back again through the

woods, and over the ice-bound streams and swamps to Canada.

EFFECTS OF THESE EXPEDITIONS ON THE INDIANS.

One great object which the French had in view in these expeditions, was the moral effect they were expected to produce on the Indians, and especially on the western tribes. The administration of the governor who had preceded Frontenac, had been so weak and inefficient, that the Indians about the lakes had begun, it seems, to lose their faith in the French, and to turn their thoughts toward allying themselves with the English, who moreover had been promising them, as an additional inducement, new and enlarged facilities for trade. These victories, however, as the Indians regarded them, soon had the effect of turning the scale once more in favor of the French. And in order to complete and confirm this change of sentiment, Frontenac now fitted up, and sent out along the lakes, a very grand trading expedition, with large supplies of goods for traffic, and a great number of curious and valuable presents for the different chiefs. These trading expeditions were carried out on so great a scale that a fleet of more than a hundred canoes was required to bring back the return cargoes of skins and furs purchased with the goods.

The result was that the waning friendship of the Indians was brought back again to its former state, and the plans of the English colonies for winning the savages over to their side were thwarted.

EXCITEMENT IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

The English colonists were not only greatly exasperated by the barbarous cruelty of the attacks made upon their settlements by their Canadian neighbors, but they felt in no small degree mortified by them, since the population of the Canadas was probably not much more than one-tenth as great as that of the English settlements. It was very humiliating to English pride to be thus assailed and harassed by an enemy over whom they had the advantage in numbers of ten to one. They immediately determined to take measures for putting an effectual and final end to the power of their neighbors to molest them, by invading the country and sweeping the French dominion over it entirely away.

The different colonies appointed deputies who assembled in New York, in May, 1690, and formed themselves into a Congress,—the first assembly under that name which was convened in America—and there planned and determined upon the measures to be taken for the effectual extinction of the French power on the continent.

PLANS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

To render the accomplishment of this object perfectly secure they resolved to attack Canada both by sea and land. Two thousand men were to be raised at once and marched to Montreal by the way of Lake Champlain. At the same time they despatched messengers to England to propose to the home government to send out ships of war to pass up the river St. Lawrence and attack Quebec.

The plan, however, of obtaining aid from England, failed, for the government of William and Mary was so hard pushed by King James, who had made an incursion into Ireland, and seemed for a time to be going on triumphantly toward recovering his kingdom, that they could not spare any forces to send to America. On receiving these tidings the colonists determined to fit out a naval expedition themselves.

The organization of the two expeditions immediately commenced—and very soon every town and village in all the northern portion of the country resounded with martial excitement and with preparations for war. General Winthrop was placed in command of the land expedition, and Sir William Phipps, a distinguished naval officer, of that which was to proceed by sea.

PRELIMINARY EXPEDITIONS.

While the preparations for the grand attack upon Canada were going forward, Sir William Phipps made some preliminary excursions to the northward and eastward, along the coasts now pertaining to Maine and Nova Scotia, in the course of which he captured and destroyed several French forts, and pillaged and burnt many villages. The French and the Indians retaliated upon the English forts and settlements on the New Hampshire coast, and in that vicinity; and these conflicts led to awful scenes of terror and distress for the inhabitants. One of the most terrible of the many dreadful stories related of those times was the cruel fate of Major Waldron.

TREACHERY OF MAJOR WALDRON.

Major Waldron was an English officer, now eighty years of age. About thirteen years before this time, at the close of the war with King Philip, when the English were hunting out the Indians with fire and sword in every direction, a troop of soldiers came into New Hampshire with orders to attack and seize the Indians there, with a view of punishing all who had been in any way concerned in aiding and abetting in the Philip war. Major Waldron, who resided there, in the town of Dover, was

at that time on good terms with the Indians, and about four hundred of them had met at his dwelling, which was a sort of fort, and some amicable negotiations were going on, the Indians considering Major Waldron as their friend and protector. He had, indeed, assumed that character toward them, but now when the English troops had come, with orders from his superiors at Boston to aid in making prisoners of all these men, he found himself placed in a very difficult situation.

After some hesitation he concluded to coöperate with the English troops in their design. He accordingly devised the following stratagem. He invited the Indians to an entertainment which he proposed for their amusement. It was to consist of a sham fight, in which the Indians were to be on one side and the English soldiers on the other. Care was taken that the Indian guns should be loaded with blank cartridges, and those of the English with bullets. The Indians, trusting implicitly to the faith of an English officer, fell readily into the snare. After some preliminary manœuvres the Indians were induced to fire, and then as soon as their guns were discharged, so that there could no longer be even an explosion of powder from them, the English soldiers rushed upon them, some with swords drawn, and others with guns aimed and

ready, so that the poor Indians, before they could recover from their astonishment, were seized, disarmed and bound.

A number of the prisoners thus taken were afterward released on proof being furnished that they had never been guilty of any acts of hostility against the English. But many were put to death, and about two hundred of them were carried off and sold into slavery.

THE INDIANS' PLAN FOR REVENGE.

Years passed on and Major Waldron supposed that this affair had been forgotten, but instead of that the wound which it had made rankled, it seems, in the savage breast, more and more with the lapse of time. The Indians who were themselves released were filled with indignation and rage at such an act of treachery, and of those who had been sold into slavery many returned, and secretly and silently fed the flames of resentment and revenge, though they dissimulated their designs so well and kept them so secret, that neither Major Waldron himself nor any of his friends suspected any danger.

At length the general disturbance in the state of the country produced by the breaking out of this war, gave the Indians the opportunity they desired

to accomplish their end. They, accordingly, matured their plan, which was to gain admission at night into the fort or block house where Major Waldron lived, seize the Major and execute upon him, on the spot, the judgment of their rude law. In order to gain admission to the fort they sent two *squaws*, in the evening, to pretend to be travelers and to ask permission to sleep during the night before the fire, a request not unfrequently made by Indians in those days, in times of peace. There were two or three other houses in the neighborhood, all fortified like Major Waldron's, and to make their work sure the Indians sent two squaws to each of them. They were all admitted without hesitation. At Major Waldron's house the squaws, when bed time came, were left in the kitchen before the fire. The people even showed them how to unfasten the door, if they wished to go away early in the morning.*

SUCCESS OF THE PLOT.

At midnight, and at a concerted signal, the squaws silently opened the doors of the several houses, and the Indians that had been waiting in the neighborhood in ambuscade, crept stealthily in. Then followed the usual scene of consternation and horror

* See frontispiece.

attendant on such surprises. The sleeping families were aroused from their slumbers by an explosion of hideous shrieks and yells, and by the bursting into their rooms of bands of ferocious savages, brandishing their tomahawks and thirsting for blood. The resisting and the unresisting were alike slaughtered. Major Waldron, though as we have said now eighty years old, seized a sword that was hanging by his bed, and succeeded in driving the assailants from his room, and in forcing them back through two or three doors, but as he turned to seize a gun he was felled to the ground by a blow upon his head with a tomakawk.

INDIAN IDEAS OF EXECUTING JUSTICE ON A CRIMINAL.

It was found that the unhappy man was only stunned by the blow which he had received. When his senses returned his captors brought him to the hall, put him in an arm-chair, and set the chair upon a long table used as a mess table for the family and garrison. Here for a long time they taunted and derided him. Then they ransacked the house for food, compelling the people to aid them in bringing it out, and setting it before them. They continued feasting and carousing over this food for some time, and then they commenced the work of tormenting their prisoner. They began by coming up to him

one by one and cutting him across the breast and stomach with their knives, saying as they did so, "That is to cross out *my* account; and "That is to cross out *my* account." When they had satisfied themselves with this, they cut off his nose and ears, and crammed them into his mouth, and finally when spent with loss of blood he fainted and was falling off the table, one of them held the point of his sword under him, to catch him upon it as he fell, and so put an end to his misery.

THE RACE NOT ALWAYS TO THE SWIFT, NOR THE BATTLE
TO THE STRONG.

But to return to the grand preparations for the invasion of Canada. Notwithstanding the celebrated remark of Napoleon that the God of Battles is generally found ranged on the side of the heaviest battallions, nothing would seem to be more unsafe than predictions in respect to the result of a conflict, based on the relative strength of the combatants at the commencement of it. This truth was strikingly illustrated in this, as it has been several times since, in other invasions of Canada. The English colonists, being in number as we have said ten to one of the French, and the disproportion in respect to means and resources being perhaps greater still, they thought that they had only to put forth one vigorous exertion of their strength, in order to

sweep the power of their rivals and enemies from the continent. They were doomed, however, to a total disappointment.

ADVANCE OF THE LAND EXPEDITION.

The land expedition under General Winthrop was finally organized, and marched to the northward. The troops advanced till they reached the shores of Lake George, and there they encamped, waiting until they should hear, by means of messengers sent through the woods across the country, that Admiral Phipps had arrived in the St. Lawrence, in order that they might advance to the attack of Montreal at the same time that the ships were assailing Quebec. By thus entering the country at the same time upon opposite sides of it, they hoped to distract the councils of the governor, and compel him to divide his forces. And in this for a time they succeeded.

DISASTROUS TERMINATION OF THE EXPEDITION.

The army had not been long at their encampment before suddenly the small pox broke out among them, and soon began rapidly to spread through the ranks of the army, and among the Indians living in the neighborhood, carrying every where the utmost terror and dismay. The art of vaccination

was not known in those days, and the breaking out of the small pox was justly considered as the most awful scourge by which a human community could be visited. In the case of an army, the evil and the consequent terror were frightfully aggravated, especially an army situated as this was, encamped in a wilderness, and surrounded by Indians. In a short time more than three hundred men were stricken down and died, and the rest were so appalled by the danger that all discipline, and almost all organization, were at an end. General Winthrop was obliged to abandon his camp and fall back in confusion to Albany, and here after vainly striving to reorganize his forces, he was obliged to give up the attempt. The men were disbanded and dismissed, and they went off in squads and companies to their several homes.

RELIEF FOR THE CANADIAN GOVERNOR.

This, of course, was a great relief to the Canadian governor, who at once recalled the men whom he had sent to defend Montreal, and now, with all his forces united, prepared to make his stand at Quebec. It was not long before Admiral Phipps appeared with his fleet at the mouth of the St Lawrence—much earlier, in fact, than the governor had expected him. The governor first heard of his

entrance into the river from an Indian scout, who made his way across through the woods from the Bay of Fundy, and thus brought the tidings. The governor immediately pressed forward down the river to Quebec, taking with him all the forces that he could gather by the way.

SITUATION OF QUEBEC.

Quebec is situated at a point on the river where the bank is very high. A large part of the town is built upon the cliffs above, where also is situated the citadel, a very strong fortress. Below, along the line of the shore, is another portion of the town, called the lower town. It is here, of course, that landings are made, and that the chief business is transacted that is connected with the traffic on the river. A winding and zigzag road ascends the cliff, leading from the lower to the upper town.

The river St. Charles comes into the St. Lawrence at Quebec, immediately below the town, and the wharves and landings extend round the point, and along the margin of the St. Charles, thus forming a water front for the town on both rivers. Just below, the united streams widen into a broad and very picturesque bay, which is adorned with beautifully wooded islands, and bordered, on every side by bold and commanding shores.

PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.

The governor immediately on his arrival adopted energetic measures to complete the defences of the town. Entrenchments were thrown up along the shore to defend the lower town, and batteries were established at all commanding points for some distance down the river. The upper town was enclosed with palisades, and all the entrances but one were barricaded. The road leading from the upper town to the lower was cut off in three places, and obstructed with *chevaux de frise*—small openings only being left which could be effectually closed at a very brief notice.

THE TOWN SUMMONED TO SURRENDER.

It was on the 16th of October that the sentries, from their stations on the cliffs first obtained a view of the fleet of Admiral Phipps, as it came up the river. The vessels came to anchor a short distance below the town, and immediately afterward a boat came on shore with a herald to summon the place to surrender. The herald, as is often the usage in such cases, was blindfolded, and then conducted by very circuitous and winding ways, first through and among all the different redoubts and batteries of the lower town, and then up the winding road to the upper town, and along the lines of fortifications

there, seeing nothing, but hearing the din of martial sounds every where. The object of this manœuvre was to impress him as strongly as possible with an idea of the extent and magnitude of the works. He was finally conveyed to the citadel, and there being conducted into a great hall the bandage was removed. He found himself in the presence of the governor, who was surrounded by the chief officers of the army, and also by all the principal civil dignitaries of the state whom he had convened to be present at the interview.

As soon as the herald had recovered a little from his surprise he proceeded to deliver his message, which as it would appear was somewhat haughty and overbearing in its character. In fact, Admiral Phipps in approaching Quebec had no idea of the extent of the preparations which had been made to receive him. He had taken great pains to keep the destination of the fleet a secret, and he expected that his appearance before Quebec would take the French by surprise, and would find them wholly unprepared for defence. The herald, therefore, had been ordered to summon the place, in the most pre-emptory manner, to surrender at once and unconditionally to his majesty King William III.—adding, however, graciously, that if that were done, his majesty, like a good Christian, would overlook and

forgive all past injuries which his colonies had received from the Canadians.

REPLY TO THE SUMMONS.

The governor, as well as the other French officers around him, was quite incensed at the haughty tone thus assumed by the English envoy. He said, that as for King William III., he did not know such a person. He knew the Prince of Orange, (this being King William's style and title before he was called to the throne of England,) and he knew him to be an unprincipled usurper, who had violated the most sacred rights, both of blood and of religion by making war upon and attempting to dethrone one who was at once his own father-in-law, and also the divinely annointed king and the representative of the true faith, as opposed to heresy and schism. He knew of no king of England but King James.

"Besides," he said, "even if he and the officers around him were disposed to make terms with an enemy in respect to the possession of the town, they would not do it with such a man as Admiral Phipps, for he had shown by his faithlessness and treachery on former occasions that he was not fit to be trusted."

The herald was incensed in his turn at this reply

and he demanded that it should be given to him in writing.

“No,” said the governor, “go and tell your master I will give him an answer from the mouth of my cannon. I will teach him better than to send such a summons as this to a man like me.”

Having received this reply the herald was dismissed, and conducted back to the landing.

THE FRENCH OPEN FIRE.

Immediately after the herald had been sent away the batteries nearest the ships opened fire, and before the vessels could withdraw from the reach of them, it happened that a shot from one of the guns carried away the flag staff of the Admiral's ship, and the flag, together with some of the spars and rigging, fell into the water. Some of the men on the shore immediately swam out to obtain the flag. The men on the decks of the vessels shot at them in the water to prevent their reaching the flag, but they succeeded in bringing it to the shore, and it was preserved a long time afterward as a trophy. It was hung under the vault of the dome of the Cathedral, and remained there for more than half a century, until at length the Cathedral was destroyed by fire, and the flag perished with the falling of the dome.

SWIMMING OUT FOR THE FLAG.



THE ATTACK UPON THE TOWN.

Admiral Phipps, it seems, was not at all prepared for so determined a resistance as he now found he was likely to encounter. He, however, resolved at once on making a vigorous attack upon the town and the fortifications defending it. After withdrawing his ships beyond the reach of the guns on the shore, he remained two days apparently inactive, but, in fact, diligently occupied all the time in making his preparations.

His plan was to land a force of one or two thousand men below the river St. Charles, with orders to march up along the northeastern bank of the St. Lawrence till they came to the banks of the St. Charles opposite to Quebec, where they would find boats which he was to send up secretly in the night to take them across. This force was provided with artillery and all necessary stores and supplies. After crossing the river the troops were to march up to the heights in the rear of Quebec, and as soon as they reached them they were to make a signal to the fleet. The ships were then to advance to attack the town in front, both by cannonading the fortifications from the guns on the decks, and also by landing a force on the wharves along the shore to assault the lower town, and carry it if possible by storm.

FAILURE OF THE PLAN.

An awful scene of terror and devastation followed the attempt to carry this plan into effect, but it resulted in the end in total failure. The detachment sent up to the St. Charles was landed, but the troops were almost immediately attacked by the French, who had in some way or other discovered the design ; and on their march they became entangled in swamps and morasses, and great numbers of them were killed. The rest found it impossible to get across the river. Admiral Phipps waited a long time in vain for the expected signal from the heights, and then advanced to attack the town from his ships. His fire was, of course, answered by the guns of the citadel, and also by those of the redoubts and batteries along the shore. This scene is said to have been in the highest degree grand and sublime. The magnificent basin of Quebec was covered with ships, all throwing out incessantly from their sides bright flashes of fire, and rolling wreaths of smoke. Other flashes continually appeared from the ramparts that lined every salient point along the shore, and that rose one above another on the face of the cliff to the citadel above, while the perpetual thunder of the explosions echoed and reverberated from the declivities of the mountains around.

The cannonading was continued for two days, and at the end of that time the fortifications were found to be but little injured, while the ships were so much crippled that they were obliged to withdraw.

The detachment sent on shore was equally unfortunate. After spending two or three days in fruitless attempts to cross the river and scale the heights, they were obliged to give up the attempt and to steal back to the ships again in the night, to save the troops from being surrounded and made prisoners.

DISASTERS ATTENDING THE RETURN OF THE FLEET.

It was about the middle of October that Phipps arrived with his fleet before Quebec, and now a week more having elapsed in the fruitless attempt to take the town, November was close at hand, so that it was altogether too late for him to remain in the river in the hope of repairing his damages, and making a new attack. Indeed, besides the danger from the impending wintry storms, the river would soon be closed with ice, and the vessels imprisoned. Nothing was to be done, therefore, but to abandon the enterprise altogether. So the fleet sailed down the river and put to sea, but it was already too late for a favorable passage. They encountered a series

of terrific storms, and were, moreover, attacked and pursued on the way by French men-of-war that came out to intercept them. The result was that the ships were dispersed, a great many of the men perished of fatigue, privation and exposure, and only an exhausted and miserable remnant succeeded in making their way back to Boston Harbor.

END OF THE WAR.

It was in the year 1690 that this invasion of Canada took place, and the war between England and France was continued for seven years longer. During all this time the French and English colonies were in a state of continued hostility, and though neither party gained any considerable advantage from the contest, they succeeded in inflicting infinite mischief on each other. The hostilities were carried on in a great measure by the Indian allies on either side, and they were accompanied by the usual barbarities and horrors attendant on savage warfare. French privateers, too, infested the coast and almost destroyed the commerce of Boston and the other English towns, and the privations and sufferings which ensued were felt throughout every English colony.

At length however, in 1697, the war between

the French and the English was brought to an end by the treaty known in history as the treaty of Ryswick, and the colonies were, consequently, once more at peace.

CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

ENTANGLEMENT OF THE COLONIES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS.

ALL the great wars in which the English colonies were engaged, during the time that the American settlements continued in the colonial condition, were contests waged against the French colonies on their northern frontier, and they all arose, not from quarrels originating here among the colonists themselves, but out of disputes arising in Europe between the two parent nations. The first of these conflicts, as described in the last chapter, had its rise in a struggle for the possession of the throne of England,—between the two great religious sections of the Christian world. The next, curiously enough, originated in a struggle between the same parties substantially, for the crown of Spain. The war took place in the reign of Queen Anne, and accordingly in American history it is generally known as Queen Anne's war. The question at

issue, however, having been the succession to the crown of Spain, the contest is generally designated in European history as the war of the Spanish succession. The facts were briefly these :

THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE.

The peace of Ryswick, by which the war described in the last chapter was brought to a close, did not absolutely settle anything except to put an end for a time to actual hostilities between the parties. The partisans of James in England, and his Catholic friends on the continent, were as desirous as ever to restore his family,—that is, the Stuart dynasty—to the throne. William and Mary had no children. The next heir in the English royal line was Anne. Anne was a daughter of James. Parliament, it is true, claimed a sort of right to determine which of several heirs, more or less entitled to the throne by the principle of hereditary succession, should be placed upon it—but they did not claim the absolute right of selection at will, as that would have made the monarchy an elective instead of an hereditary one. Both parties accordingly looked with great interest upon Anne. The Catholic partisans of James hoped she would become a Catholic, and that her accession would restore them to power. The Protestants, on the

other hand, including most of the people of England, hoped that she would espouse the Protestant cause, and thus relieve them from the necessity of setting her aside, as they were extremely unwilling to interfere with the regular hereditary right, except in a case of extreme urgency.

In the end Anne did pronounce in favor of the Protestant cause, and so was allowed peaceably to assume the crown.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

Notwithstanding the hatred and ill-will which still rankled in the hearts of those who had been active in this contest, a nominal peace might, perhaps, have continued for some time, had it not been for a great question which suddenly arose, called the question of the Spanish succession. The king of Spain died leaving no children. The prince, who claimed to be his next heir, and so entitled to succeed him, was an Austrian prince named Charles. But the king left a will bequeathing his throne to a grandson of Louis XIV., of France. There immediately arose a contest between the French and the Germans, each nation taking sides in favor of its own claimant. The government of Queen Anne joined the Germans, in favor of Charles, and thus France and England were once more at war. The

war raged for many years, and produced a vast amount of devastation and misery in Europe, and it also very soon extended to this country. The two sets of colonies on this side of the Atlantic, though they had no interest whatever in the subject of dispute, were soon engaged in planning expeditions against each other, and inciting merciless Indians to aid them in carrying fire and sword into the settlements on either side of the common frontier.

OFFERED TRUCE.

It seems that the French colony, either from a sense of their comparative weakness, or else from being of a more peaceable disposition than their English neighbors, offered to make a truce with them, so as to prevent the hostilities which the parent countries were waging against each other in Europe from extending to this continent at all; but the government of Massachusetts, to whom the proposal was addressed, would not accede to it. The desire of the English colonists to conquer Canada, and to put an end finally and forever to French sway in this country, had not been at all diminished by the failure of the effort made twenty years before, as described in the last chapter; and now that a new war had broken out in Europe be-

tween France and England, they saw that an opportunity was offered them of making a new attempt to accomplish their design. So they refuse the offered truce, and began to form plans for a new invasion of Canada. At the same time they sent a commissioner to England to represent the case there, and to endeavor to induce the government to send out forces, naval and military, to aid them.

THE DEERFIELD EXPEDITION.

The Canadians did not wait to be attacked. They immediately began to organize expeditions, consisting in great measure of Indians, for making inroads into the English territories. The first of these expeditions was directed against Deerfield, then the most northerly of the English settlements on the Connecticut River. The town being thus upon the very frontier was defended by a very stout palisade of posts, set close together, and eight or ten feet high. This palisade entirely surrounded the place, inclosing a space of about twenty acres. Many of the houses within were also protected by special inclosures made of logs. It was customary, too, every night to station sentinels at the gates, who watched there until the morning began to appear, when they retired to their homes.

It was in the winter of 1703-4 that the Canadians came to attack the town. The expedition kept their design a profound secret. The commander of the band was Major Hertel De Rouville. He had under him two hundred Canadians and about one hundred and fifty Indians. These Indians were what were called Christian Indians, being professed converts to the Catholic faith, and besides being allured to the undertaking by their natural love of war, and their desire to gratify their savage propensities of rage and cruelty, they were led to believe that the work in which they were about to engage, being the extermination of heretics, was particularly meritorious in the sight of heaven.

The expedition set off from Montreal, and commenced its toilsome march through the woods in the depth of winter. The ground was covered deep with snow, and the men were obliged to travel the great part of the way on snow-shoes. Such a march is, however, not so laborious and painful as it might seem, as the snow always lies smooth and level in the woods, and the trees afford a complete protection from the wind, which is always the chief source of suffering and danger in all cases of exposure to cold. The swamps and streams are moreover all frozen over at such a season; all ob-

structions and impediments are covered, all soft ground becomes hard, all rough ground smooth, and men walk upon the smooth surface of the snow, four or five feet above the ordinary level, completely protected from every thing but still, dry cold, the effects of which abundant exercise by day, and blazing fires at night, render almost imperceptible. The winter is in fact the true season for a march through such a country.

THE MASSACRE.

The band arrived in the vicinity of Deerfield at the end of February. They halted in a forest on high ground, about two miles north of the town. There they concealed themselves, taking care to make no noise, nor to allow any fires to be built, and waited for the morning. At daybreak they came down into the valley of the Connecticut, and crossing the river advanced over the wide interval land which here borders the stream, creeping stealthily on, in single file, along the margin of every copse of trees or clump of bushes which could help to conceal them. The snow was four feet deep, but the surface had been softened by the sun by day, and then frozen again at night, as usual on open ground at this season of the year, so that they could walk upon it without any difficulty or danger,

and they had accordingly left their snow-shoes at their encampment.

• In the meantime the sentinels having kept watch at the gates all night, had left their posts as soon as the dawn began to appear, and thus when the band arrived the town was wholly unguarded. The gates were shut and fastened it is true, but the snow had been banked up against the palisade so high that the men had nothing to do but to creep stealthily up the slope, step over the top, and descend on the other side. In this manner the whole troop gained admission within the town, and there stood marshaled in the silent and solitary street, awaiting their leader's command, without a single one of the inhabitants having been disturbed from his slumbers.

This pause, however, continued but for a moment. It was succeeded by the sudden bursting forth of the Indian yell, and by the irruption of the murderous assailants, civilized and savage, into the dwellings. The usual scene of terror and carnage ensued. The people were dragged from their beds, and many of them were immediately murdered. Others were bound and laid aside helpless. All who attempted to make any resistance were cut down or tomahawked without mercy. In the course of an hour. more than a hundred prisoners

were secured, and nearly fifty were killed. Some, however, escaped, and sought shelter and concealment in the woods about the town.

As soon as De Rouville found that his work was accomplished, he assembled his prisoners and marched them out of the place, and then set all the buildings on fire, after giving his men permission to plunder the houses of every thing valuable that they could carry away.

It was after daybreak when the attack commenced, and by the time that the sun was an hour high the expedition had commenced their march back toward Canada, taking their plunder and their prisoners with them.

SEQUEL OF THE STORY.

As soon as the enemy had retired, the fugitives that had escaped to the woods returned, and they fortunately succeeded in extinguishing the flames in one of the houses—the last one that had been set on fire—and thus provided themselves with a temporary shelter. The poor prisoners were marched to Canada. They suffered indescribable hardships and privations by the way. Among the number of these sufferers were the Rev. Mr. Williams, the minister of the place, and his family. His wife became exhausted on the way, being in a delicate

state of health, and the Indian to whose care she had been entrusted killed her with his tomahawk to relieve himself of the burden.

The Massachusetts colony afterward made a great effort to ransom these captives, and they sent a vessel to Quebec to bring them home. In this way Mr. Williams himself and fifty-seven others were recovered; but, strange as it may seem, twenty-eight of the captives had become so far reconciled to their enemies that they preferred to remain among the French and Indians in Canada. Many of them even adopted the habits and modes of life of the Indians, and so gradually sank into a savage state.

The most remarkable circumstance in the whole affair was that one of the children of Mr. Williams, a daughter named Eunice, who was about ten years old when she was taken, was among the number of those who thus joined the Indians. She married a young chief, and during all the remainder of her life lived with him in the woods. In after days, when peace was restored, she often visited her friends and relatives on the Connecticut River, but no persuasions or entreaties could induce her to return to her kindred and people.

Mr. Williams himself and all the other members of his family were ransomed and brought home.

ATTACK UPON HAVERHILL.

Another somewhat similar undertaking was directed against Haverhill, in 1708, under the command of the same Hertel De Rouville. The original design of this expedition was to attack Portsmouth, but finding his force not sufficient to make the result sure, Portsmouth being strong and well defended, De Rouville determined upon marching on Haverhill instead. Haverhill is situated on the Merrimac River, at some distance in the interior from Portsmouth. It was then the frontier town, and had suffered terribly before from assaults by the Indians.

It was in the month of August that De Rouville's troops approached the town on the present occasion. He had with him about two hundred and fifty men. He managed the affair very much as if it were purely a religious enterprise undertaken solely for the promotion of the glory of God, and for the extermination of the enemies of the Church.

Accordingly on the morning of the day when the assault was to be made, he assembled his men on the borders of the forest where they had encamped during the night, and made an address to them, in which he exhorted them to forgive one another their mutual injuries and wrongs, and to

settle all their dissensions and disputes in a spirit of Christian reconciliation. He then made them all kneel down, and together commit themselves and the enterprise in which they were about to engage, to the special protection of heaven.

THE ASSAULT.

The people of Haverhill were aware of De Rouville's approach, and had prepared themselves, as well as they could, to defend the town. The Canadians, however, advanced to the assault, and after a long and vigorous combat they were completely successful. The usual scenes which resulted from these awful irruptions of savages into the villages of civilized and Christian people ensued. Gates and doors were broken open, men, women, and children were mercilessly massacred, the houses were plundered and set on fire, and the whole village was soon reduced to a heap of smoking ruins.

NARROW ESCAPES.

There were, however, some narrow escapes. In one family there was a slave woman named Hagar. She contrived to seize two of the children and carry them into the cellar, where she hid them by putting them under two tubs that were standing there, bottom upwards. She then went herself and

hid behind a pork barrel. The Indians came into the cellar and searched it to find whatever would be of value for them to carry away. One of them stepped up upon one of the tubs, to reach something high, but the child under it did not stir. Another took some pork out of the barrel behind which poor Hagar was crouched down, in a dark corner; but he did not see her. Then after drinking milk from some pans that set there, and dashing the pans upon the pavement of the cellar floor, they went away.

In another case an infant child escaped with its life in a manner which was still more remarkable. It was the child of parents named Hartshorne. The father was shot in the street, with his two sons, at the commencement of the conflict. The house, it seems, was of one story, with a rude chamber in the attic. The entrance to the cellar was by means of a trap-door in the floor, and a step-ladder going down. Mrs. Hartshorne determined on hiding in the cellar; but she did not dare to take the infant down with the other children, fearing that it might cry, and thus reveal the secret of the hiding-place. So she had the heroic resolution to leave this, her darling, in the bed up-stairs, and the rest of the children she hurried down through the trap-door into the cellar, and concealed them

and herself there. The Indians came into the house and ransacked it for plunder, but happily did not observe the trap-door. They, however, went into the garret, and finding the baby there threw it out the window.

Fortunately it did not have far to fall, and it so happened moreover that it came down upon a loose pile of shingles. It was, however, stunned by the blow, and afterward, when the Indians had retired, was found by the mother, and taken up insensible. The child lived, however, and afterward grew to be a very tall and robust man, so that his neighbors and friends used to joke him on his size, saying that the Indians *stunted* him when they threw him out of the window.

A great many other incidents, combining the strange and the curious with the shocking and horrible, are related by the annalists of those days. In one case the dead body of a mother was found in a garden, with a living infant at the breast, vainly endeavoring to draw nourishment from it. In another, when two or three Indians were crowding at a door to get in, and had nearly forced it open, a woman within ran one of them through the body with the spit from the kitchen, and frightened the rest away. But we cannot dwell any longer on these scenes. The Canadian party effected the

almost total destruction of the town, and then set off with their prisoners and their plunder on their way back to Canada.

KINDNESS TO A CAPTIVE GIRL.

The French historians in relating these scenes say that among the prisoners was a girl, the daughter of one of the principal inhabitants of Haverhill. She soon became so much exhausted with fatigue that she was almost unable to proceed, when one of the soldiers, a Canadian of Quebec, took compassion upon her, and to save her from being massacred by the Indians undertook to carry her upon his back. And he did accordingly so carry her for a large part of the way to Quebec. The name of of this soldier was Dupuy.

ACADIA.

Besides these attacks of the Canadians and Indians upon the frontier settlements in the interior, a desultory but terribly cruel war was waged at the same time, for several years, on the northeastern sea coast. Various expeditions were fitted out from Boston to attack the French settlements in Nova Scotia, then called Acadia, and along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Here forts were taken and villages pillaged and destroyed, and multitudes of

the inhabitants were massacred. One of the chief objects of these attacks was the place called then Port Royal, which was situated on the western side of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, on the shore of the Bay of Fundy. After a time this place was taken by the English, and the name of it was changed to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne, the English reigning sovereign, and by this name it has since been known.

PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW INVASION OF CANADA.

These conflicts, however, on the part of the English colonists were considered as only preliminary to the grand enterprise to be undertaken, which was the invasion of Canada by two powerful expeditions, directed against the two great cities of Quebec and Montreal. The naval portion of this force, namely, that which was to advance against Quebec, must necessarily come from England, but the troops which were to advance across the country by land were to be furnished by the colonists themselves. The distance from England, and the embarrassed condition of the English government at that time, produced by the varying fortunes of the war in Europe, occasioned great delays. At length, however, the expedition in both its branches was ready.

THE NAVAL FORCE.

It was in the latter part of June, 1711, that the naval portion of the expedition arrived in Boston. It consisted of fifteen ships of war, and no less than forty transports, the latter having on board five regiments of veteran troops. The fleet was commanded by an officer named Sir Hovenden Walker, and the troops on board by a certain General Hill.

In addition to these soldiers brought from Europe, a large number of recruits from Massachusetts joined the expedition, thus making up a force of about seven thousand men. This expedition was destined to ascend the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec.

THE LAND FORCE.

Besides this attack upon Quebec by way of the sea, a considerable army was collected at Albany, to march across the country and attack Montreal. These troops were chiefly from Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The people of Pennsylvania being generally of the Society of Friends, held conscientious scruples against war, and could not take any open part. They could not even contribute money openly and ostensibly for the purpose of carrying on hostilities, but they raised a sum equal to about ten thousand dollars, which amount

they paid over to the government, under the name of a *present to Queen Anne!*

The land force thus assembled at Albany consisted of some thousands—the French say over four thousand—and it was soon joined by eight hundred Indian warriors, assembled from tribes in alliance with the English.

DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION.

The organization of expeditions of this kind is always attended by a thousand vexatious difficulties and delays, and gives rise to a vast amount of impatience and discontent. This was strikingly true in the present instance. The ships lay more than a month in Boston harbor before every thing was ready. There were loud and angry complaints at this delay, still not a doubt of the final success of the enterprise was for a moment entertained. The colonies were exultant to find such a force at last at their disposal, a force which they considered amply sufficient to make the conquest of the whole of Canada abundantly secure. The government in England felt the same confidence in the result. One of the ministers is said to have written to one of his colleagues, when he heard of the arrival of the fleet in Boston, saying, "You may now rest perfectly assured that from

the present moment we are masters of the whole of North America."

At length the fleet was ready, and on the 30th day of July it sailed. Including vessels of war and transports, it formed a fleet of nearly ninety vessels.

At the same time that the fleet set sail, the land force advanced from Albany by the way of Lake Champlain, and after proceeding as far as to Lake St. Sacrament it halted, to wait for news of the arrival of the fleet in the St. Lawrence, as the naval attack upon Quebec and the land attack upon Montreal were to be made at the same time.

PREPARATIONS MADE IN CANADA.

In the meantime the news of the expected invasion produced the greatest possible alarm and excitement throughout all the settlements in Canada. The people everywhere volunteered to join the army. Even the women imbibed some portion of the martial spirit that prevailed. The Indians of the surrounding tribes were invited to meet at Montreal and organize an auxiliary force. The governor went to Montreal to meet them, and there gave them a great feast. About eight hundred savages were present on this occasion, and they celebrated the inauguration of the war by martial

games, war dances, and other such ceremonies as are resorted to by savages to stimulate and increase their hatred and rage against their enemies.

After having made the necessary arrangements at Montreal, the governor returned to Quebec, where a strong garrison had been posted, and long lines of batteries had been constructed on the crest of the heights above, and along the banks of the river below, and watchmen were stationed on commanding points at some distance down the river, to look out for the approach of the enemy. At length, toward the latter part of August, a messenger came up in great haste from one of these stations, bringing the intelligence that a fleet of nearly one hundred vessels had appeared in sight, and were coming up under full sail toward the town.

CONFIDENCE OF THE ENGLISH COMMANDER.

The French historians relate that so confident was Admiral Walker in the overwhelming superiority of the force which he had under his command, that he did not anticipate any resistance on the part of the Canadians. Quebec would be surrendered at once, so soon as the city should receive his summons, and as he advanced up the river his mind was occupied in forming plans and making arrangements for the security and preservation of his ves-

sels during the winter, on account of the ice, and in arranging his ideas in respect to the government of the conquered country. He had, in fact, on board his transports, many families that had come out from Scotland to settle in the New England colony that he was about to inaugurate.

DISASTER.

These plans were, however, destined not to be realized. Just before the fleet reached the neighborhood of Quebec, and while they were in a portion of the river which was very wide—sufficiently so, in fact, to form quite an extensive bay—and where the navigation was encumbered with sunken reefs and rocky islands, there came up one night a violent storm of wind and rain, accompanied as frequently happens in that latitude, by a fog so dense that the shores could not be seen. Still the Admiral felt no particular anxiety. He remained in his cabin studying his plans, and was sitting quietly there, when suddenly the officer of the deck came down in a state of great alarm, and informed him that there was a line of breakers in sight to leeward, that is, in the direction toward which the wind was driving the ship. The Admiral replied that it could not be so. It was the officer's imagination.

So the officer went on deck again, but in a few minutes he returned, and asked the Admiral to come up and see for himself. The Admiral did so, and to his utter consternation he found the water all around him white with foam, and saw the crests of ragged rocks lifting themselves up every where from among the waves. The deck of the ship was crowded with people all in a state of wild confusion and dismay.

Every effort was made to change the direction of the vessels, and save them from the impending danger. But in spite of every exertion, eight of the transports struck and went at once to pieces, carrying down with them nearly a thousand men.

TOTAL FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION.

This disaster, and the results which followed from it, were fatal to the expedition. The night was spent in confusion and terror, and in almost fruitless efforts to save a portion of the men that were on board the wrecked vessels. Besides the vessels that were lost many others were greatly crippled, and on re-assembling the fleet and ascertaining the amount of damage the next day, it was at once decided that the whole enterprise must be abandoned.

The Admiral accordingly soon turned his course down the river again, and on reaching the mouth

of it the fleet was divided. The colonial portion sailed for Boston, while the Admiral himself, with the English portion, returned across the Atlantic, and after meeting with many disasters on the way, a miserable remnant of the expedition at length arrived in England.

END OF THE WAR.

It was in 1711 that these occurrences took place. Some other projects were started for an invasion of Canada during the two years that followed, but nothing came of them, and at length, in 1713, peace was made between France and England, by the treaty known in history as the treaty of Utrecht, and, of course, all hostilities between the French and English colonies at once ceased.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THIRD FRENCH WAR.

THE third of the great wars which were waged between the French and the English in America was called King George's war, from King George the First, during whose reign it took place. This war was commenced in 1744, and continued for four years. It was marked only by abortive and fruitless expeditions, on one side and on the other. None of these expeditions led to any results, except that the English took Louisberg, a strong place in Nova Scotia; but inasmuch as the town was restored to the French when peace was made, it may be said that the contest led to absolutely no change in the relative condition of the parties to it, and the limits to which we are confined in this volume compel us to pass it by with this brief notice.

THE FINAL STRUGGLE.

The peace which followed King George's war was, like all those which had preceded it, only a truce, and at length, after a very brief interval, a new conflict arose, which was destined to end in the total overthrow of the French power in Canada. This was, therefore, the great and final French war on this continent. It endured for seven years, and is known in European history as the seven years' war. In this country it has been generally designated as the war with the French and Indians, being the greatest of the wars of that character. In later times it is often called the old French war—the term old being intended to distinguish it from the war of the Revolution, which was more recent. Thus many now living can remember hearing their grandfathers, in narrating the warlike scenes they witnessed in their youth, speak sometimes of the revolutionary war, and sometimes of the old French war, as the two great periods of conflict over which their memory extended.

WASHINGTON.

The old French war is still farther memorable in the minds of the people of the country as having been the occasion of bringing George Washington first forward into notice as a military man. George

Washington was a young Virginian—not more than twenty years of age—when the difficulties which led to the war first broke out. He had already acquired, young as he was, a high reputation for prudence and efficiency, and he was employed by the Virginia government from the very beginning, in the transactions which were connected with the breaking out of the war. The manner in which he performed his part in these transactions gained for him a great name, and made him one of the most prominent young men of the country, and thus prepared the way for his being brought forward to take the very conspicuous part that he did in the war of the revolution.

ORIGIN OF THE QUARREL.

The quarrel originated in the same cause which had produced the previous contests, namely, conflicting claims for the possession of the territory toward the west, as the settlements and trading expeditions of the respective parties penetrated into the interior, along the line of the lakes and of the St. Lawrence. The particular tract in dispute in this case was the large and fertile country lying beyond the western slope of the Alleghanies, forming now parts of the States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and extending along the banks of

the Ohio River. The French claimed that Father Marquette had discovered that country, on his famous expedition down the Mississippi and up the Ohio, and that they were consequently the rightful possessors of the soil on each side of the river, namely, to the lakes on one side, and to the range of mountains which bordered the river valley on the other.

The English, on the other hand, claimed that they had bought the land, from the Alleghanies to the river, of the Indians, who were the original and rightful possessors of it. Of course there was no way of striking a balance between such claims as these by argument. The only resort was consequently an appeal to arms.

NEGOTIATIONS.

Before hostilities actually commenced two or three years were spent in various manœuvres and negotiations. Some Virginians formed a company for settling that part of the country. Among the most prominent of the associates were several of Washington's near relatives. This company obtained a grant of the land from the king of England. In the same manner the French government made grants to Canadians, and both parties sent expeditions into the disputed territory, to explore

the country, make treaties with the Indians, and prepare the way for establishing settlements.

WASHINGTON SENT ON AN EMBASSAGE.

One of the principal of these embassages on the part of the English, was one sent by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, in 1753, and was conducted by Washington himself. The object of the expedition was to communicate with the commander of the French forces that had already entered the disputed territory, to remonstrate against their intrusion, and also to negotiate with the Indians in hopes of securing them on the English side. Washington took with him guides, horses, an interpreter or two, and stores of provisions, and at the head of this party he made his way through the forests, across swamps and morasses, and over the plains, following Indian trails through the woods, and sometimes floating down the streams in canoes, until he passed the Ohio and approached to within a few miles of Lake Erie, where there was a French fort. This fort consisted of four houses, arranged so as to form a hollow square, and was defended by lines of palisades, formed of stout trunks of trees set in the ground, and twelve feet high. The tops were picketed, and here and there openings were made for cannon and musketry.

Within the fort was a guard-house, a chapel for the Catholic service, and some other buildings. The huts ordinarily occupied by the soldiers were outside. They were made of logs and covered with bark. There were also stables, a forge, and other things necessary to make up a complete establishment for a small force in the wilderness.

TRANSACTIONS AT THE FORT.

Young Washington and his company were received at the fort in a very civil and courteous manner, and after waiting a day or two for the arrival of an officer of higher rank who was to receive the ambassador's communication, several formal and ceremonious interviews were held, during which Washington delivered his letter from the governor of Virginia, explained the claims of the English to the territory, and endeavored to convince the French authorities of the justice of these claims, and of the obligation on the part of the French to withdraw from the country. There was much difficulty in conducting these negotiations, on account of the language. Washington could not speak French, nor could the French officers speak English, and they had no good interpreters. The French made little reply to Washington's arguments, but after a day or two of deliberation and

consultation among themselves, they delivered to Washington a sealed letter, addressed to the governor of Virginia, which they said contained their reply to his demands. It was easy to see from their air and manner, and from the general aspect of things in and around the fort, that the reply was not favorable.

THE RETURN OF WASHINGTON'S PARTY.

Washington now prepared to set out on his return, but he found a great many difficulties interposed in his way. He had endeavored by every means in his power to conciliate the Indians, but he found continual evidence that their interests and sympathies were altogether on the side of the French, and he was obliged to be incessantly on the watch against treachery. He found it very difficult to procure canoes, and in obtaining other needful facilities he encountered numerous obstacles and long delays. The season was now late too, and the party suffered much from cold, and found their course impeded by frost and snow. The pack horses became wearied out, and Washington was obliged, at length, to give up his saddle horse to help convey provisions, and to travel himself on foot

DIVISION OF THE PARTY

After toiling on in this manner for many days, the party made such progress that Washington concluded to go forward himself with one company, in order to convey his dispatches as soon as possible to the governor of Virginia. So he put his dispatches, together with a few articles of clothing and some necessary provisions, in a pack which he strapped upon his back, and taking his gun in his hand he set off in company with one attendant—an experienced backwoods-man named Gist—leaving the rest of the party to follow as well as they could with the bulk of the baggage.

RETURN TO VIRGINIA.

Washington and his companion encountered many difficulties and dangers during their march. They half lost their way and were obliged to take an Indian to guide them, and after taking him were, for a long time, very suspicious that he was leading them into an ambuscade. He made a great many difficulties, objected to every thing that Washington proposed, and finally became very sullen and ill-humored. At last Washington contrived to get rid of him, and after that he and Gist went on alone, guiding their course by the compass.

CROSSING THE ALLEGHANY.

When they came to the place where they were to cross the Alleghany River they found it frozen on each side to a considerable distance from the shore, and open in the middle, where a very rapid current was carrying down masses of floating ice in great quantities. There was no way of crossing this water but by means of a raft of logs. Such a raft Washington and his companion proceeded to construct, but in endeavoring to navigate it they became encumbered in the floating ice, and Washington, in trying to extricate the raft by means of a long pole, got thrown off into the water and came very near being drowned. He clung to one of the logs of the raft, however, until with Gists' assistance, he succeeded in mounting on board again. Then they found that the river had become so full of ice that they could not reach either shore. They contrived, however, to make their way to an island toward which they were drifting, down the stream. Here they landed and waited in vain all that day for the river to become clear. They were obliged to spend the night on the island, and they suffered very much from the cold. Gists' hands and feet were actually touched with frost.

The next morning they succeeded in reaching the shore, and soon afterward they made their way to

the house of an Indian trader who lived on the frontier, where they were comfortably provided for.

SAFE ARRIVAL AT LAST.

After meeting with many other curious adventures which can not be here particularly detailed, Washington arrived safely at Williamsburg, where the governor resided, and delivered his dispatches. The French letter was found to be very courteous and civil, but evasive in respect to the question at issue. As soon as the purport of it was known the governor at once understood that the French had no intention of giving up the territory in dispute, and only replied courteously and evasively in order to gain time to enable them to complete their preparations for defending it. So the governor immediately began to make preparations for war.

DIFFICULTIES AND DELAYS.

The governor, however, encountered a great many difficulties and delays in carrying his plans into effect. There was not a very good understanding between himself and the legislature of Virginia, and they were for a time slow to adopt the measures which he required of them. He was a man of a lofty and aristocratic spirit, and entertained very exalted views of the executive prerogatives of a

governor. He considered himself, in fact, as a sort of viceroy in Virginia, while on the other hand, the legislature was strongly tinctured with democratic principles, and the members were somewhat jealous of the authority which the governor was disposed to assume. Then there were long and tedious negotiations to be carried on with the other English colonies, to induce their coöperation in the work of expelling the French from the disputed territory; and communications also to be sent to England to procure the sanction of the home government to the proposed proceedings, and to obtain aid from the mother country. One or two years were consumed in these and similar proceedings before the time arrived for the commencement of hostilities on any extended scale.

FIRST ATTEMPTS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.

In the mean time, however, the governor was not idle in respect to efforts for obtaining the first possession of the territory in question. Several hastily organized expeditions were sent into the country by the French and the English, both eager to be the first to get possession of the ground. In these exploring tours, and in the skirmishes which they led to, Washington took a very active and prominent part. Minute accounts of his various

adventures during this period, and of the hardships, toils and privations which he and his men endured, are given in the annals of those days, but we are obliged to pass them all by in this narrative, and proceed at once to the more decisive commencement of hostilities which took place in 1755.

FORT DUQUESNE.

It is, however, necessary to premise that among the important points which both the combatants were most eager to obtain first possession of, was that at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany, where these two rivers, by their junction, formed the Ohio—the site at the present day of the city of Pittsburg. The situation of this place gave it great importance. Governor Dinwiddie accordingly, as soon as he found that hostilities were inevitable, sent forward several parties to take and hold it. One party was sent forward at once to take immediate possession of the ground, and commence the construction of a fort. Another followed more slowly, making a road through the woods for the purpose of transporting artillery. A third, bringing the artillery, provisions, and other necessities, came last.

These plans were all well formed, and the result would have been very advantageous to the English

cause, if the French had allowed the governor time to carry them into full effect. But while the first party were engaged in their preliminary operations at the fort, a very large force, consisting of about a thousand men, with field-pieces and all other necessary munitions of war, the whole transported by means of a fleet of sixty flat-bottomed boats and three hundred canoes, came down the Alleghany River, from the fort of Venango, and surprised them at their work, before they had made any preparations whatever for defending themselves. The result was that the English were compelled at once to abandon the ground, and the French took possession of it. They immediately constructed a spacious and extended fortification, which they named Fort Duquesne, in honor of the governor of Canada. This fort became subsequently for a long time the great centre of attack and defence by both parties, in the military operations that ensued.

GENERAL BRADDOCK.

At length, in the year 1755, as has already been intimated, the plans formed by the British government in conjunction with the governors of the several colonies, were ready to be put into execution. Arrangements were made for sending four different expeditions to attack the French settle-

ments and strongholds along the frontier, and General Braddock, an officer of very high reputation in military circles in London, was sent out to take the command. Of these expeditions he resolved to undertake personally the one which was destined to attack Fort Duquesne. He came with very exalted ideas of the military superiority of regular English troops, and of the drill and discipline practised in the Guards, a corps with which he had long been connected in London. Indeed, he quite despised such soldiers as could be made out of farmers' sons and provincial backwoodsmen, and in coming to conduct a military enterprise in the colonies he expected greatly to excite the wonder and admiration of the natives, by showing them how to carry out such operations in true military style.

ARRIVAL OF THE TROOPS.

General Braddock and his suite arrived in Virginia in February. He was followed soon after by a squadron of two ships of war and several transports, on board of which were two regiments of five hundred men each, and a train of artillery, with all the necessary supplies and munitions of war.

The vessels sailed up the Potomac to Alexandria, and there the men and stores were landed.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Of course the arrival and landing of so large a force of European troops at such a town produced a scene of great martial excitement. All was bustle and movement. The men established their encampment near the town. The cannon and stores were landed. In addition to the field-pieces, several guns belonging to the ships were landed, and thirty seamen, under the command of naval officers, were sent to accompany them. The services of these men would be required to rig tackles sometimes, to get the cannon over difficult places, and also to assist in navigating boats and rafts across rivers when it should become necessary to use them. Besides these preparations, contracts had been made for large numbers of horses and wagons, which were to be ready at designated points on the route, to assist in the transportation.

WASHINGTON JOINS THE EXPEDITION.

While these preparations were going on, Washington was residing at Mt. Vernon, to which place he had retired at the close of his former campaigns. Mt. Vernon is very near Alexandria, and Washington often rode over to the latter place to witness the progress of the preparations. At length he signified a strong desire to accompany the expe-

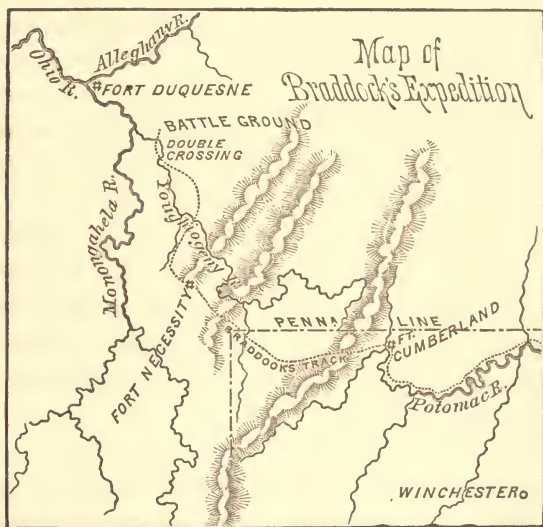
dition, and General Braddock, when at length he arrived at Alexandria, from a visit which he had been paying to the governor of Virginia, and heard the high character which the young officer sustained, and learned moreover how well acquainted he was with the country which they were to traverse, offered him an honorary appointment on his staff. This offer Washington at once accepted.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE MARCH.

On the 14th of April a grand council was held, at which four or five governors and lieutenant-governors from the most important colonies, who had come to Alexandria for the purpose, took part. The general plan of the campaign was here decided upon, and a few days afterward the column commenced its march. It was encumbered with a vast amount of baggage, which Washington and the others who were acquainted with the country thought would greatly impede their progress. They warned General Braddock of this danger, but he only smiled and gave them to understand that he knew what he was about.

He himself commenced the march in great state. He rode in a carriage which he had purchased of the governor of Maryland, and which was drawn by dashing horses, and he was attended by a troop

of guards, as if he had been on parade in one of the parks of London. The column formed by the army on its march, including the trains of artillery and baggage, occupied a space of four miles. Of course such a body of troops proceeded very slowly, the men being obliged in a great measure to make the road, and to construct many bridges as they advanced. At length after some weeks they arrived at the first halting-place, which was at Fort Cumberland at the mouth of Wills Creek.



Here the army remained some time in camp, waiting for new levies to come in from the surrounding country, and also for horses and wagons, for which this had been the appointed place of rendezvous.

THE CAMP AT FORT CUMBERLAND.

During the time that the expedition remained at Fort Cumberland the General kept up great state, and exacted of all under his command the strictest attention to every detail of military ceremonial. The mode of celebrating divine service on Sundays, of conducting funerals in case of any deaths that occurred, and the trial and punishment of offences, were all regulated with as much formality as would have been required in an encampment in time of peace, in the suburbs of London. The General gave elegant entertainments, too, to the officers, having brought with him two cooks and a full supply of all necessary condiments and sauces. At these entertainments the most punctilious attention was paid to all the ceremony and etiquette of military life.

THE INDIAN AUXILIARIES.

While the force remained at Fort Cumberland a body of Indian auxiliaries that had been engaged to

accompany the expedition, came in. They were under the command of chiefs, with such whimsical names as Scarrooyadi, White Thunder, and Silver Heels. These chiefs brought their squaws with them. The name of one of these squaws, who seems to have been quite a belle among the English officers, was Bright Lightning. The Indian chiefs became soon quite jealous of the fondness which their wives seemed to manifest for the attentions of the English officers, and some very serious quarrels would have ensued had it not been that the squaws were soon all sent home again.

BRADDOCK'S UNPOPULARITY.

General Braddock made himself very unpopular among all parties, by his conduct and demeanor while at Fort Cumberland. He was dictatorial, haughty, and overbearing. He made endless complaints against the colonial authorities, for not furnishing him with means of transportation more abundantly, and expressed himself on the subject in such a manner to the provincial officers around him, as to awaken their resentment very strongly. As for the Indian allies he offended them so much by his inconsiderate and domineering conduct toward them, that before he was ready to resume the march nearly all of them went away.

THE MARCH RESUMED.

At length all was ready and the march was resumed. The way led now through a wild and uninhabited country, crossed by ranges of hills and mountains, with deep valleys and rapid streams between. The advance of such an army, encumbered as it was with long trains of wagons and of artillery, was necessarily very slow. It would be very interesting, if our space would allow, to relate in detail the difficulties which were encountered, and the means resorted to for surmounting them, and to describe the various scenes and incidents that occurred on the way. So slow was the progress of the troops that a *month* was consumed in advancing a distance of not much over a hundred miles. At length, however, the expedition arrived at a point on the eastern bank of the Monongahela River, a few miles above Fort Duquesne, and after a short halt the preparations were made for advancing to the attack.

DOUBLE CROSSING OF THE RIVER.

It was found here that the army could not proceed down the river on the eastern side on account of the high land on that side coming so near the shore as only to allow a very narrow pass between the steep declivity and the water. But the river

could be forded, and on the other side lay a comparatively open and level country. It was determined, therefore, to cross the river and march down on the western side to a point nearly opposite to the fort, and then to recross to the eastern side and advance to the attack.

The preparations were made by General Braddock for effecting these two crossings, in a very formal and regular manner, and with all the pomp and circumstance of war. The time was midsummer, the scenery along the banks of the river was picturesque and charming, and the day was beautiful. The plans for sending forward the advance guard, for stationing outposts, for moving the different columns, and for placing the artillery to protect the line of march, were all admirably arranged, and the whole affair formed for those who witnessed it a brilliant and most imposing spectacle. If the object of General Braddock had been only to show to the wondering backwoodsmen what an English officer's idea was of the true military style of crossing a river, his wish would have been completely gratified.

THE ATTACK.

Scarcely, however, had the troops fairly reached the eastern bank after the second crossing, and

commenced their march toward the fort, when suddenly an irruption of French and Indians was made upon the advance guard, and upon the flanks of the column, with sharp and continued firing from every species of ambuscade, and yells and outcries from the Indians frightful to hear. The English soldiers were panic stricken. They attempted for a time to stand their ground, but were soon thrown entirely into confusion. The English officers did their duty nobly. They made every possible exertion to rally their men. Braddock himself remained in the thickest of the fight. Five horses were shot under him. At last a bullet passed through his arm and entered his breast. He fell from his horse mortally wounded.

CARNAGE AND ROUT.

The carnage among the English officers was dreadful. Out of eighty-six, sixty-two were either killed or wounded. Washington had two horses shot under him, but he himself escaped unhurt. The rout of the army was utter and overwhelming. The men abandoned every thing and made their way in squads back across the river, intent only on saving their lives. The enemy were, fortunately, too much occupied in seizing and securing the plunder to follow them.

RETREAT OF THE ARMY.

Those who escaped from the battle-field came to a halt and reassembled about a quarter of a mile beyond the river. Here Braddock's wounds were roughly dressed, and he was placed upon a litter. He was still able feebly to give orders. The men were, however, wholly beyond control, and were rapidly withdrawing. Washington was sent back on horseback to the nearest camp to bring up succors and supplies in order to enable the remnant of the army to make good its retreat.

Thus was this grand expedition, which it had consumed more than a year to organize and perfect, which had cost so large a sum of money, and was advancing with so much pomp and parade, to secure, as its leader supposed, an easy and certain victory, overwhelmed, broken up, and totally ruined in a single day.

General Braddock lingered a few days on his litter and then died. They buried him silently in the camp where he died,—afraid to make any sound that might attract the attention of the Indians. The remnant of the force that was left made their way back again to Virginia, mainly under the guidance of Washington.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

SLOW PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

AFTER the disastrous failure of General Braddock's attempt to gain possession of the valley of the Ohio, the war lingered on for two or three years without any decisive results in favor of either side. The colonists, however, during this period were not idle. Under the direction and with the aid of the home government they fitted out various fresh expeditions, and advanced to attack the French at various points along the frontier. But nothing was accomplished. The history of these attempts, and the strange and curious scenes and incidents which occurred in the prosecution of them, as described in the reports and journals of those times, are full of interest, but we have not space to dwell upon them here. We must pass on at once to the grand and final act of the great drama which the contest be-

tween France and England, for the control of this continent, presented to mankind. This final act, by which the struggle was substantially closed, was the conquest of Quebec in 1759, four years after the repulse of General Braddock before Fort Duquesne.

DESPONDENCY OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT.

Although no great and decided success had been achieved on either side during the four years above referred to, both sides had suffered severely, and the Canadians, being originally far the weakest party, were left of course in the greatest state of exhaustion; and during the winter of 1758-9, in looking forward to the campaign of the following summer both the government and the people were oppressed with great despondency in respect to the prospect before them. So great a number of men had been drawn off from the settlements to supply the armies, nearly all of whom had either been killed in battle or had perished from sickness and exposure, that scarcely any were left to till the ground. The supply of food for the inhabitants had accordingly greatly fallen off, and now the whole colony was threatened with famine. No more men could be raised, and of course, no fresh armies could be put into the field to resist the advance of the En-

glish forces. And yet these forces were now pressing hard upon them in various points along the frontier, and were preparing, as soon as spring should open, to attack them with renewed vigor.

THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

The commander-in-chief of the French armies in Canada was the Marquis de Montcalm. He was a gallant soldier, who fought long and bravely in a falling cause, and in the end sacrificed his life in his hopeless struggles to maintain it. He had been fighting during the preceding season on the shores of Lake Champlain, along which a powerful English force was advancing toward Montreal. He maintained his ground successfully in many great combats, but still the overpowering superiority of the English enabled them to make good all losses, and to come on, after every defeat, with fresh forces to renew the combat.

Montcalm saw that without great reënforcements from France, and large supplies from that country, all would certainly be lost during the next campaign. He wrote imploring letters to the government at home to send out these reënforcements and supplies. But the government was already involved in great difficulty and embarrassment by the pressure of the war in Europe. Besides this, the En-

glish were much more powerful than the French at sea, and the passage across the Atlantic was greatly exposed. The government was apprehensive that if they were to send men or supplies the ships would fall into the hands of the enemy on the way.

They were obliged, therefore, to leave Montcalm mainly to his own resources and to those of the colony, exhausted as they were. Montcalm had no hope in respect to the result. He should, however, stand at his post, he said, as long as he had any strength remaining. His only desire was to find a grave for himself in the ruins of the colony which he could no longer hope to save.

GRAND NAVAL EXPEDITION.

In the mean time during the winter of 1758-9 a grand naval expedition for the conquest of Quebec was fitted out in England. This expedition sailed about the middle of February. The appointed place of rendezvous for the fleet on the American coast was Louisburg, but on the arrival of the ships on the coast the harbor of Louisburg was found still blocked up with ice, and so they proceeded to Halifax. When all the vessels had got in it was found that the fleet consisted of more than twenty first class ships of war, and the same number of frigates and smaller armed vessels.

Besides the seamen belonging to these ships, the fleet brought over nine regiments of veteran troops for operations on land. The whole force was under the command of Major General Wolfe.

PREPARATIONS FOR ENTERING THE RIVER.

The commander remained with the fleet in Halifax harbor for a time, recruiting the men after the voyage and repairing damages, and then when the ice had melted away the whole fleet sailed for Louisbourg, that port being nearer the mouth of the river. Here the final preparations were made. At length, about the 1st of June, all was ready, and the orders were given to sail. But so great was the number of vessels of all sorts engaged in this grand enterprise that it took nearly a week for them all to get out of the harbor.

SITUATION OF QUEBEC.

The reader must here recall to mind the situation of Quebec as described in a former chapter. The river St. Lawrence forms a long and gradually widening estuary as it joins the gulf. At the head of this estuary is the island of Orleans, which comprises a large tract of fertile land nearly twenty miles long and four or five wide. This island divides the river into two channels, and just above

it is the bay or harbor of Quebec. At the head of this bay, four or five miles above the upper end of the island, stands the town. It is situated on the left bank of the river, at a point where the river St. Charles enters the St. Lawrence, coming from the north and west. The point between these two rivers is formed by a lofty table land bordered by precipitous cliffs toward the river. The town is built partly upon the table land above, and partly along the beach below.

ADVANCE OF THE FLEET.

The English fleet crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence and entered the broad estuary which forms the mouth of the river. The French had secretly set all sorts of obstructions in the stream, especially at the points where there was any difficulty or danger in the navigation. The English admiral sent forward a number of vessels as an advanced guard to examine all these places, and remove the obstructions, and thus the fleet ascended the river in safety as far as to the island of Orleans. The command landed the troops upon the island and encamped them there.

THE PROCLAMATION.

The first step taken by General Wolfe after es-

tablishing his force on the island of Orleans, and securing his ships—which he stationed in detachments at the various anchoring grounds around the harbor, where they could lie least exposed to the enemy's batteries, and could at the same time best command the approaches to the city—was to attempt to draw off the peasant population of the country from their government, by issuing a proclamation. In this proclamation he assured them that he had come to wage war not against them, but against the government alone, and promised them protection if they would remain peaceably at their homes.

The proclamation produced much the same effect that such appeals to the people of an invaded country usually do. The peasantry remained true to their allegiance, and did every thing in their power not only to aid General Montcalm in all his endeavors, but also to harass the English troops by every possible means. They watched the camps, and cut off and murdered all stragglers. This led to cruel acts of revenge and retaliation on the part of the English soldiers, and a great deal of suffering was thus occasioned on both sides, by acts of hostility which only aggravated the horrors of the contest, without producing any appreciable effect on the result.

CANNONADING IN THE HARBOR.

It was on the 26th of June that the English troops took possession of the island of Orleans, and on the 28th that General Wolfe issued his proclamation. After this nearly two weeks were spent by the English in strengthening and securing their encampment on the island, and in getting possession of various commanding positions on the shores of the harbor and of the neighboring waters, from which they hoped to be able to establish batteries. These attempts were, of course, resisted by the French, and in some cases obstinate and bloody conflicts ensued. There was, in particular, a protracted contest for the possession of a sort of promontory named Point Levi, which was nearly opposite Quebec, though a little below. In the end the English were victorious, and obtained possession of the point, and they immediately erected formidable batteries upon it, from which they cannonaded the city. By this fire they damaged the works on the heights, and they almost entirely destroyed the lower town.

THE FRENCH FIRE-SHIPS.

The French made one very formidable attempt to destroy the English fleet by means of fire-ships. They chose the time for this attempt immediately after a violent storm, when they knew the vessels

must have been more or less damaged in their rigging and disturbed in their moorings, and when consequently the crews would be necessarily engaged with more or less of hurry and confusion in making repairs. *Seven* fire-ships were prepared, and after being loaded with all sorts of combustibles and set on fire, were delivered to the current at midnight, to be borne down to the anchorage ground of the English fleet.

This project, however, did not succeed, for the English admiral immediately manned his boats with the most resolute and fearless men among the crews, and sent them out to intercept the fire-ships. The crews of these boats contrived to approach near enough to the ships, all in flames as they were, to attach tow-lines to them, and by means of these they towed them away into shoal water, where they got aground, and there burnt to the water's edge without doing any harm.

RECONNOITERING PARTY.

In these and similar operations, the last week in June and the first and second weeks in July passed away. The English were gradually gaining ground, it is true, but thus far no decided advantage had been secured. The whole shore on the northern side of the river, for four or five miles below Que-

bec, was in the hands of the French, and was strongly fortified. The tract extended from the river St. Charles, which enters the St. Lawrence at Quebec, down to the river Montmorency, several miles below. This river flows through a deep ravine, and the left wing of the French army rested on the bank of it, which was high and precipitous. The English had posted a strong force below the mouth of the Montmorency, and now the general determined to send a reconnoitering party up that river, in order to examine the banks of it and find some place for crossing, so as to attack the French in the rear.

The reconnoitering party accordingly marched up the river on the northern and eastern bank, but they found that in every place where there was a possibility of crossing with the troops, the French had made intrenchments and planted batteries to defend the passage, and these were too strong and too well guarded to make it prudent to attempt to force them.

The making of a reconnoissance like this, though the only object is to gain information, is by no means free from danger. The detachment sent on this occasion was repeatedly attacked by parties of French and Indians, and they lost in the course of the expedition nearly fifty men and several officers.

ATTACK AT THE MOUTH OF THE MONTMORENCY.

Finding no crossing place up the river, General Wolfe determined to attack the French lines by crossing the Montmorency at its mouth, where the waters flowed over a wide beach of sand, in a shallow current which was fordable at low tide. Two brigades were to cross this ford at midnight. At the same time a large number of men were to be sent on shore in boats from the fleet, and a man-of-war, brought up near, was to cannonade the French works on the land.

This deep-laid plan was, however, destined not to succeed. The boats got entangled among the rocks, and the men in them were detained a long time. Two transports fell aground, too, and finally had to be set on fire. In a word, the attempt was a failure, and the English were obliged to retreat, with a loss of four hundred men.

SICKNESS OF GENERAL WOLFE.

The fatigues and exposures incident to these operations, together with the anxiety of mind and bitter disappointments which resulted from the failure of them, brought upon General Wolfe the return of a malady to which he was subject, and for a time almost incapacitated him for action. In this emergency he wrote a letter to the three principal

officers under his command,—the Brigadier-Generals Moncton, Townsend and Murray—asking their opinion in respect to what it was best to do. After consultation they wrote a reply, in which they expressed the opinion that it would be better to abandon the attempt to attack Quebec from below, and to pass with the ships above the town and advance upon it in that direction. General Wolfe approved of this suggestion, and it was at once determined to adopt the plan proposed.

PREPARATIONS FOR CARRYING THE NEW PLAN INTO EFFECT.

The sickness of General Wolfe and the time consumed in making the necessary preparations for changing the mode of attack caused a delay of many weeks, and it was near the middle of September before things were in readiness for the new assault upon the town to be made from up the river. During this interval General Wolfe took every possible precaution to prevent his new designs from being suspected by the enemy. He sent a considerable number of his ships above the town and anchored them there. This movement, of course, the French could not but observe, but in order to prevent their attention from being particularly attracted to it he sent the vessels up a few at a time, and brought troops to them as much as possible by stealth and

in the night, or by a roundabout way over land. He also kept every thing as quiet as possible on board the ships. The place where he stationed the ships, too, was quite far up the river, ten or twelve miles beyond Quebec, and at a point where there was no probability that he could have any intention to land.

In the mean time he continued a great deal of pretended preparation below the town. He had boats out making soundings along the shore between the mouths of the St. Charles and the Montmorency, opposite to the French lines, as if he was intending to make a new attempt at landing there, and resorted to a great many other similar devices in order to mislead the enemy in respect to his real intentions.

THE ATTACK.

At length, on the night of the 13th of September, all was ready for the attack. Four or five regiments of chosen troops were put on board a fleet of flat bottomed boats from the vessels up the river, and a little after midnight the boats set out to come down the current. The vessels remained where they were for a short time, until the boats were well under way, and then followed them. Thus the ships and the boats arrived at the intended landing-

place—which was about a mile or two above Quebec—at nearly the same time. The ships could thus cover the landing of the troops by throwing shot and shell over the bank and keeping the ground clear there, in case their attempt should be discovered, and the enemy should attempt to resist them.

CURIOUS COINCIDENCE.

It may seem strange that these boats should be able to pass down the river, even in the night, without attracting the attention of the French sentries that would naturally be placed along the shore. Indeed, it was expected that they would be observed, and that the alarm would be given, but it was hoped that the boats would nevertheless be able to reach the landing place before any considerable body of troops could be brought up to oppose them. It so happened, however, that the French, who were in great distress for want of provisions, expected a convoy of their own boats to come down the river that night with supplies. This was, of course, a very dangerous undertaking, but it was hoped that the boats might succeed in passing the English ships in the dark by keeping near the shore, and the necessities of the garrison were so great that it was thought best to make the attempt.

Now by great good fortune General Wolfe learn-

ed these facts from two deserters who came off to the ships a day or two before the attempt was made. The deserters also communicated the pass-word or countersign which had been given to the men in the French boats, by which they were to make themselves known to the sentries along the banks. Accordingly General Wolfe had only to give this countersign to his men, and thus the sentries, when they perceived and challenged them, and obtained the countersign in reply, supposed that they were their friends bringing reënforcements and provisions, and allowed them to pass without giving any alarm.

CALMNESS AND COMPOSURE OF GENERAL WOLFE.

The utmost stillness was observed on board the boats while they were descending the river, and every other precaution was taken to attract the attention of the sentinels on the shore as little as possible, and thus the little fleet passed most of the pickets without being observed. A young midshipman, who was on board the boat which conveyed Wolfe himself, and who afterward became a man of distinction in England, relates that during the passage Wolfe occupied the minds of those who were with him in his boat, by repeating to them in a low and scarcely audible tone of voice, the whole

of Gray's Elegy in a Country Church-yard, beginning :

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day.

If his object in doing this was to divert the thoughts of his men from the desperate perils they were about to encounter, and to relieve the feelings of solemnity and awe so naturally excited by the darkness, the solitude, and the impending danger, we might almost suppose he would have omitted the stanza containing the line :

The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

The men listened with very deep interest to the recitation of the lines, and after coming to the end of them the General expressed his great admiration of them, and added that he would rather have been the author of those lines than to take Quebec.

THE LANDING.

At length the boats reached the place which had been selected for the landing. It was now about an hour before daybreak. There was a beach at the margin of the water, with a steep and densely wooded bank ascending to the cliffs above. There was only one path up the ascent. Wolfe himself was the first to leap on shore, and when he saw how steep the declivity was, and how encumbered it was

with rocks, trees and bushes, he said to an officer near him, who was to lead the advance :

“I doubt if you will get up, but you must do what you can.”

The path was guarded by a small body of men that were stationed near the top of it, on the high ground above. On the command being given the English soldiers rushed up the acclivity, some making their way by the path, and others scrambling as they could among the trees and bushes. The guard at the top of the path was soon overpowered, and then there was no farther opposition to the ascent of the bank by the men. In the mean time the boats having discharged their loads went back to the ships for more men, and thus in a short time a large force succeeded in reaching the heights, and were there soon disposed in order of battle.

ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH TO MEET THE ENEMY.

In the mean time the alarm had spread rapidly to all the French posts on that side of the city, and bodies of troops were seen coming in every direction to meet the invaders. The commander, Montcalm, sent forward a large number of Indians into the woods in front of the ground occupied by the English, to commence firing upon them, in order to harass them and keep them back until the main



LANDING UNDER THE CLIFF.

body should arrive. The English waited patiently until the main body came. They then pressed forward to attack them and a long and desperate conflict ensued.

THE BATTLE.

It would be painful to dwell upon the horrid incidents of a cruel and bloody contest like this where thousands of men are employed for hours in slaughtering one another, the scene being made the more frightful by the roar of cannon, the sharp rattling of musketry, the demoniac yells of savages, and the piteous moans or agonizing shrieks of the wounded and dying. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that the English were completely victorious. The French were every where routed and driven from the field, and thus the way was left open for the advance of the English to Quebec, only a mile or two distant, and on that side almost wholly undefended.

DEATH OF BOTH THE GENERALS.

One among the many remarkable circumstances which combine to render this battle so famous in history as it has become, is the fact that both the commanding generals were slain. Both, too, seem to have died rejoicing. General Wolfe, the English com-

mander, after having been for many months continually harassed by disappointment, sickness, vexatious failures, and gloomy forebodings, found at last that the success of the grand expedition, which had been organized at such an expense of men and money, and intrusted to his charge, and which he had brought across the Atlantic, and watched over with so much anxiety during the long months of the summer, was now fully and unquestionably secured. When he was told, after receiving his wound, and while he was gasping for breath, that the French were flying from the field, he said he died content, and almost immediately expired.

The Marquis of Montcalm, on the other hand, when told that his wound was mortal, said he was glad that it was so. He rejoiced that he was not to live to witness the surrender of Quebec.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

By the death of General Wolfe the command of the English forces devolved upon General Townshend. He did not immediately advance upon Quebec, but devoted his attention first to the work of strengthening and securing the position which had already been gained, and making preparations for a more effectual attack upon the city when the proper time should arrive. He accordingly threw up intrench-

ments around his camp, and brought on additional reinforcements from the ships, and made a good road up the bank, by means of which the men drew up artillery, ammunition and supplies. He also began to erect batteries from which the city might be cannonaded. Some of these batteries were so placed as to command the avenues of approach to the town, so as to prevent the inhabitants and the garrison from receiving any fresh supplies of provision from the country.

MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR.

The governor of the city, whose name was De Ramsey, watched these proceedings very anxiously for several days, until at length, being convinced that no means of escape were left to him from the toils which were being drawn more and more tightly around him, he determined on offering to surrender, provided he could make honorable terms with the enemy. Accordingly, on the 17th day of September, four days after the battle, and only a short time before the new batteries would be ready to open upon the city, he sent out a flag of truce, with proposals to surrender the city on certain conditions. The conditions which he proposed, together with the answers of the English general, were substantially as follows :

PROPOSED CAPITULATION.

ARTICLE 1.—Monsieur De Ramsey requires that in giving up the city the garrison shall be allowed to retire with honor, and to take with them their arms, baggage, and six pieces of cannon, and to march without molestation by the shortest road to the main body of the French army.

The answer was that the garrison could not be allowed to join the French army. They would be permitted to march out of the city with the honors of war—taking their arms and baggage, with drums beating, lighted matches, and *two* pieces of cannon. They would, however, be required to be embarked as soon as possible, under supervision of the English army, on board ships which would convey them to the first port in France.

ARTICLE 2.—That the inhabitants of the town shall retain possession of their houses, goods, and all their privileges undisturbed.

Answer. Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

ARTICLE 3.—That the inhabitants shall not be molested in any way on account of their having borne arms in defence of the town, as they had been compelled to do so.

Granted.

ARTICLE 4.—That the effects of such officers or

inhabitants as might be absent from the town shall not be disturbed.

Granted.

ARTICLE 5.—That the inhabitants shall not be removed from the town, nor be compelled to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a treaty between the kings of England and France.

Granted.

ARTICLE 6.—That the exercise of the Catholic religion shall be preserved; that the houses of the clergy, particularly the residence of the bishop of Quebec, and all the convents, monasteries, and churches shall be protected; and the bishop allowed to remain and exercise freely all his episcopal functions, in such manner as he shall think fit, until a treaty shall be made.

Granted.

These were the principal articles. There were a few others relating to the care of the sick and wounded, and to measures of precaution to be taken to guard against any injury to the town, and more especially to the churches and monasteries, by the soldiers, at the time of taking possession. The English general assented to all these proposals, as he did substantially to all the articles except the first, which claimed permission for the garrison to

go and join the main French army, which was now up the river in the direction of Montreal. This the English general would not allow, but insisted on putting them on board ships and sending them home to France, so as effectually to prevent their taking any farther part in the contest.

THE ULTIMATUM.

The messengers who came with the flag of truce bringing the proposals of the governor, waited for their answer, and took it back with them that same day. They were directed to inform the governor of Quebec that unless he sent back word within four hours that he would give up the town, on the terms signified in the answer, the English general would listen to no further proposals, but would proceed at once to take the town by storm.

THE TOWN SURRENDERED.

The governor decided to comply, and the articles of capitulation were accordingly signed by both parties. Immediately afterward an English officer was sent with three companies of grenadiers to take possession of the upper town, while a large body of seamen from the ships landed on the beach below and took possession of the lower town.

FURTHER CONTINUANCE OF THE WAR.

The surrender of Quebec by no means finished the war in Canada. The French still had a large army in the field, and the military operations of the two powers against each other continued for some years. The French at one time made an attempt to recover possession of Quebec. But they did not succeed.

In fact they did not succeed at all in any of their attempts to resist the progress of the English arms. They were gradually driven back from one position to another, until at length what remained of their army was hemmed in at Montreal, and obliged to surrender, and thus the whole of Canada fell into English hands.

CHAPTER X

PONTIAC.

CESSION OF CANADA TO THE ENGLISH.

As has already been stated it was in the year 1759 that Quebec was captured by the English army, under General Wolfe, by the battle on the heights of Abraham, as related in the last chapter. But, although this city was by far the strongest and most important place in the French possessions, the fall of it did not end the war. The resistance of the French, as stated in the close of the last chapter, was continued in and around Montreal. They were length defeated there also, but the struggle did not entirely cease until the establishment of peace between the two parent countries in Europe, which event took place in the year 1763. In settling the terms of this peace it was agreed that the French should cede to the English government all their possessions in North

America. The Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were thus formally transferred to the British crown, and they have continued to be provinces of the British empire to the present day.

TAKING POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.

The cession of the territory by the French did not, however, at once give the English possession of the country, especially of the western portion, where many French forts and trading houses had been established at important and commanding points in the Indian country, along the margins of the lakes and rivers. The French officers in command of these stations were, of course, ready at once to surrender them, but the Indians themselves might be expected to have something to say on the subject of such a transfer. The English appear to have apprehended some difficulty on this point, and they determined to do all in their power to avoid it. It was, however, necessary to take formal possession of the various posts, and as soon as peace was concluded, an officer named Major Rogers was sent with a detachment of troops to perform this duty.

PONTIAC.

Major Rogers met with no immediate opposition

in his first advance into the Indian territory. On the contrary, he was received in rather a friendly manner by the Indians whom he encountered, and especially by Pontiac, one of the most powerful and renowned of the native chieftains. Pontiac, however, soon afterward organized a very extended conspiracy and combination among the northwestern Indians, for the purpose of expelling the English from their country, and recovering possession of it for themselves. This led to a very bloody war. It was the last of the struggles in which the English colonies were engaged previous to the outbreak of the Revolution, and will accordingly form the subject of the closing chapter of this volume.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH PONTIAC.

The first acquaintance that the English formed with Pontiac was on the occasion of the march of Major Rogers into the Indian country, to take possession of the French forts and trading houses there. While on the way he was met one day by a party of Indian chieftains and warriors, who stated to him that they had been sent forward by their grand sachem Pontiac, who, as they said, was king and lord of the whole country which the English troops were entering, and who was coming to meet them, and to have an interview with the com-

mander; and in the meantime, they added, his orders were that Major Rogers should halt and remain where he was until Pontiac should come up.

Major Rogers accordingly halted his troops and encamped, to await Pontiac's arrival. Before long he came. He advanced into the English camp, surrounded and followed by a band of chieftains and warriors, and assuming an air of majesty and princely grandeur. After the first salutation he demanded, somewhat sternly, what the occasion was of the English officer coming into *his* country, at the head of an armed force, and why he had presumed to do so without first obtaining permission from him.

MODERATION OF MAJOR ROGERS.

Major Rogers was a man of too much sagacity and self-possession to take offence at this summons. He assumed a very friendly tone and manner, and endeavored by every means in his power to avoid awakening Pontiac's hostility. He told him that in coming into the country the English were actuated by no hostile or even by any unfriendly intentions toward the Indians. On the contrary, they wished to continue on the most amicable terms with them—their chief design in wishing to come into

the country at all being to carry on a friendly trade and commerce with them, which would be of equal advantage to both parties. The military force which he was leading, Major Rogers said, was not intended to act against the Indians in any sense whatever, but only to take possession of the posts and strongholds of the French, a nation that the English were desirous of dispossessing mainly on account of the influence they had exerted on the minds of the Indians, in preventing a good understanding between them and their true friend and father the king of Great Britain.

PONTIAC'S DECISION.

Pontiac seems to have been on the whole favorably impressed with the view of the case which Major Rogers so adroitly presented. He said he would consider the subject and make known his decision on the following morning, and in the mean time the English troops must remain where they were, without attempting to resume their march ;—or, as he expressed it, “I shall stand in the path that you are walking until the morning.”

In the morning Pontiac manifested a desire to take a favorable view of the question, and to allow the English to proceed. Major Rogers made every effort to confirm and strengthen this good disposition

on the part of the savage potentate, and he seems to have succeeded very well. Various negotiations followed, accompanied by presents of wampum, beads, guns, and other such objects as are used as tokens and pledges of friendship on such occasions, and also by many smokings of the calumet or pipe of peace; and agreements and treaties were made, more or less vague and uncertain in their character, and in some degree susceptible of a double interpretation, as was usually the case in respect to treaties between the English and the Indians—the English generally considering these treaties as *deeds of cession* on the part of the Indians, by which the jurisdiction over the country was in some sense conveyed to the new comers, while the Indians regarded them as only treaties of amity and alliance between equal sovereigns.

Indeed, it was the general policy of the Europeans in all cases to be satisfied with any agreement or convention with the Indians which would enable them to get into their country and establish themselves in the possession of the important points, knowing well that their strength at these points would very rapidly increase, and that they could extend their claims and pretensions afterward, as occasion should require.

IDEAS AND INTENTIONS OF PONTIAC.

In this case Pontiac supposed that he was very careful to guard all his rights as sovereign of the country. He agreed to allow the English troops to advance, and even promised to accompany and aid them; but it was only with a view to their assuming the position which the French were going to surrender, namely that of allies of the Indians admitted within their territory for purposes of trade. He even seemed disposed to make the relation of the English government to his own less near and intimate than that of the French had been. In their diplomatic covenants the king of the French had been styled their *father*. Pontiac, however, gave the King of England only the title of *uncle*,—a distinction which in his eyes was probably one of considerable importance,—though one to which, as it would seem, Major Rogers paid very little attention. All that it was of any moment for him to secure was the means of going forward and taking possession of Detroit and the other ports on the north-western frontier without any obstruction.

THE ENGLISH TAKE POSSESSION.

Accordingly, the troops under Major Rogers moved on, and in due time the English were installed in possession of the posts and trading houses

which had been established by the French in all the northwestern territory, from Niagara westward to the Mississippi, and southward to, and even beyond the Ohio.

These posts were generally established at commanding positions on the lakes and on the great rivers for which the whole region is so remarkable. The country is generally very level, so that the rivers are in most cases deep and still, while the dense forests, which in general occupied the land in those days, rendered land transportation as inconvenient and difficult, as conveyence by canoes upon the water was easy and safe. The possession of these commanding points, which generally occupied the sites upon which great towns have since sprung up—gave the power that held them the control substantially of the whole country.

PONTIAC CHANGES HIS POLICY.

It was not long, however, before Pontiac began to feel uneasy in respect to the progress that the English were making in what he considered *his* country. For some time he revolved the subject in his mind and watched anxiously the progress of events, until, at length, he came to the conclusion that he had made a great mistake in aiding the English to get possession of the land, that by so doing

he had introduced an enemy that was rapidly extending his power, and would soon wholly overwhelm the natives, unless they united to resist and expel him. He finally concluded to form a grand league among all the various tribes scattered over the northwestern country, for making a general attack upon the English settlements and destroying them all at a single blow.

PROGRESS OF THE CONSPIRACY.

Pontiac spent some time in visiting the sachems of the different tribes, and in conversing with the various chieftains and warriors, and he found them every where very ready to adopt his views. At length a grand council was called to mature the plans of action. This council was held secretly. All the leading sachems were present, and after the usual deliberations had been held, according to the Indian custom on such occasions, the plans were formed and the instructions given.

PRETENDED REVELATION FROM HEAVEN.

At this council Pontiac solemnly informed the assembly that in acting as he had done he was following the directions of the Great Spirit, who had appeared to a certain Delaware Indian, and declared His will that the English should be expelled, and

had moreover given specific instructions in respect to the measures to be adopted for the accomplishment of the object. The Great Spirit, he said, appeared angry and indignant, and demanded why the Indians suffered the white men to come among them.

“Why,” said the Great Spirit, as Pontiac stated in his speech, “Why do you allow these red dogs,” referring to the English soldiers, whose uniform in those days was red, “to come into your country, and take away from you the land which *I* have given you. Drive them away! Drive them away. If you get into difficulty or distress by so doing I will help you.”

CONCERTED ATTACK UPON THE ENGLISH STATIONS.

The plan which was adopted was to organize a great number of distinct and independent expeditions throughout all the country, and then, on a preconcerted day, to attack simultaneously all the stations of the English in every part of the north-western territory. We have not remaining space in this volume to give a full account of the manner in which this plan was carried into effect. It is sufficient to say that most efficient preparations were made—and in the most wily and secret manner—for organizing the several expeditions, and at the

appointed time the attacks were made, all nearly on the same day. The English garrisons were every where taken entirely by surprise. In some cases they succeeded in defending their posts and in beating off the assailants, but *nine* of the stations were captured.

Arrangements were made, too, for intercepting all the various parties of English traders that were on their way in different parts of the country, to and from the various forts. In this way great numbers of men were made prisoners, and a large quantity of goods was captured.

STRATAGEMS.

In the cases in which the Indians succeeded in getting possession of the forts they generally accomplished their purpose more by stratagem than by force. They would send to a trading house or station one or two squaws, or Indian travellers, apparently worn out with the fatigue of a long journey, to beg a shelter for the night, and then the persons so received would open the gates at mid night and let their confederates come in. At one place a woman came to the gates of a block house apparently in a state of great terror and distress, and implored the commander of it to come out with a small party to rescue a man in the woods not far

off, who had been wounded and was dying. The commander, not suspecting any treachery, went with the woman without any hesitation. He and his men were led into an ambuscade and shot; and then the Indians, making a sudden rush at the block house, forced their way in and overwhelmed the little garrison.

THE MACKINAW GAME OF BALL.

The most remarkable of the stratagems adopted by the Indians to gain admission to these strongholds was the one adopted at Mackinaw, a place situated on the southern side of the strait that connects Lakes Huron and Michigan. The original Indian name of this post was Michilimackinack, but in modern times the word has been shortened to Mackinaw. The station consisted in those days of a block-house or fort, and a village of about thirty houses, the whole inclosed in a high and strong palisade. The space included within the inclosure comprised about two acres.

The Indians came in large numbers, but apparently in a very peaceable manner, and encamped near the fort. Here, after engaging in various festivities, which the people of the fort and village witnessed as spectators, they finally proposed to have on a certain day, a grand game after their

fashion, which was played with a ball. There were men of two tribes present, namely, Chippewas and Sacs. These formed the two parties to the game, the object being to see which of the tribes would beat the other. The game was to be played by setting two bounds half a mile or more apart, and then placing the ball upon the ground in the middle between them, when the two parties were at once to assail it, armed with bats formed of stout sticks cut from the forests, and each party was to endeavor to knock the ball towards the antagonist's bound. Of course the party which should first succeed in driving the ball beyond the opposite bound were to be considered the victors.

DESIGN OF THE INDIANS.

Of course a game like this, played by Indian warriors, was likely to result in some very rough work, such as Englishmen of the lower classes take special pleasure in witnessing. Parties of savages rushing up from opposite sides, aiming blows with heavy clubs at a ball lying on the ground between them, and incited by rivalry and pride to surpass each other, might be expected to lead to serious accidents and personal conflicts, and, perhaps, even to a general fight. Of course the garrison, and the people generally of the village, were expected

to take great interest in coming out to witness the game, by which means the post would be left in some measure unguarded, and the savages might hope to rush in and take possession of it.

SUCCESS OF THE STRATAGEM.

The Indians did all in their power to interest the soldiers and the men living in the village, in the proposed game, by making great preparations for it, and inviting them particularly to come out and see it. In due time the game was commenced. After it was well under way the Indians contrived gradually to work the ball along in the direction of the palisade, not far from the entrance, and then, as if by accident, to knock it over within the inclosure. They then all with one accord made a rush toward the entrance, as if to go in and recover the ball. No sufficient resistance was offered, and several hundred savages made their way in. As soon as they found themselves once within the inclosure they abandoned all thoughts of the ball, and drawing forth concealed weapons they immediately rushed upon the people, and began to murder indiscriminately all that came in their way. The soldiers, who had not the least suspicion of what was coming, were taken entirely off their guard, and were easily overpowered.

DETROIT.

The most important of all the establishments which the French had made in the northwest territory, was the settlement at Detroit. The place was very important, not only on account of its position—being situated at the entrance of Lake Huron, and thus commanding the main avenue of approach to the three great western lakes—but also on account of the size of the place, and the very large accumulation of property stored there, which amounted at this time, it was said, to between two and three millions of dollars. These stores consisted of valuable furs brought in from the various trading stations, and also of large stocks of merchandize of various kinds, brought there for the purpose of trade with the Indians, and also to supply the wants of the European settlers.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PLACE.

The place consisted of a sort of fortification with a number of log-houses, forming a small village, inclosed in it. The whole was surrounded by a very high and solid fence called a stockade, which was formed of long and stout posts set close together in the ground. At the corners of this inclosure, and over the gates, there were built block-houses, with platforms above, on which cannon were mounted

The log-houses were in the centre. All around the group of houses, and between them and the stockade, was an open space, which served as a street, and also as a place for mustering and training the soldiers.

PLAN OF ATTACK CONCERTED BY THE INDIANS.

The plan which the Indians formed for getting possession of this place involved, as usual, a cunning stratagem. Their project was to come in large numbers and encamp in the vicinity of the place, as they were often accustomed to do in times of peace, and then to contrive under some pretext to gain admission for a certain number of warriors secretly armed, within the gates, in hopes by so doing of being able to surprise and overpower the garrison. These men were to be provided with rifles which had been shortened by being sawed off, so that they could conceal them entirely from view by hiding them under their blankets.

DISCOVERY OF THE PLOT.

This plan might, perhaps, have succeeded had it not been accidentally, or, at any rate, unintentionally betrayed. Major Gladwin was the name of the commander of the fort, and he had always been very honorable in all his dealings with the Indians

and very kind to them. It seems he had employed an Indian woman to make him a pair of moccasins, and had given her a valuable fur to make them of. In due time the woman brought home the moccasins to the fort, and also the portion of the fur that was left over. Major Gladwin liked the work very much. He paid the woman generously for the pair of moccasins that she had made, and directed her to take back the rest of the fur—which was an elk-skin—and make it all up into moccasins of the same kind.

The woman took the fur and went out; but she lingered about the door, and seemed uneasy. A servant asked her whether she was waiting for any thing, but he could not get any satisfactory answer. Presently the Major coming out, saw her, and asked her if there was any thing that she wanted. She said she did not wish to take away the fur, for if she did she should not be able to bring it back again; and she did not wish to make the Major lose it, since he had been so kind to her.

Major Gladwin's attention was at once strongly arrested. He suspected that something unusual was about to occur, and after questioning the woman closely he ascertained the truth in respect to the attack upon the fort which the Indians were planning.

THE PLOT DEFEATED.

Of course Major Gladwin made thorough preparations for receiving the Indian warriors when they should come. He did not refuse them admittance, but as soon as they were fairly within the inclosure and under his control, the drums beat to arms, and the whole garrison came suddenly forth and surrounded them, with bayonets fixed and muskets loaded. Major Gladwin then immediately walked up to Pontiac, lifted up his blanket, and brought to view the rifle which was hidden beneath it.

He then reproached the Indians with their faithlessness and perfidy, and ordered them all out of the fort. They retired confounded, but at once prepared for open war.

They, of course, had no artillery with which they might hope to make a breach in the stockade, and so they contented themselves with surrounding the place and firing upon it incessantly from the best places of shelter that they could find. It seems there were several out-buildings of different kinds in the neighborhood, outside of the stockade, and these furnished protection to the assailants until the English set them on fire, firing red-hot spikes into them from the cannons on the platforms, and thus burned the Indians out of them. The Indians were in this way driven farther back,

but they still kept up so continual a firing day and night, that the garrison were at length almost entirely exhausted by want of sleep and incessant labor

ATTEMPTS TO RELIEVE THE GARRISON.

Several attempts were made at different times to send relief to the garrison. In one instance the reënforcements came in a fleet of boats, but just before they reached the place, the party stopped as usual at night to encamp upon the shore, and in the morning they were surprised by the Indians, and the whole party, boats and all, were captured.

The Indians then compelled the boatmen and soldiers, after first disarming them, to take their places in the boats and go on as if nothing had happened, putting, however, two Indians, well armed, into each boat, to guard them, and also following them with the rest of their force in detachments, through the bushes along the shore, to watch them and fire upon them if any of the men should attempt to make any resistance. They hoped in this manner to advance by stealth near enough to the town to surprise and capture an armed sloop which lay in the river opposite to it.

But the plan did not succeed. The English soldiers in one of the boats rose upon the guards at

the imminent risk of their lives, upon which they were immediately fired at, both by the guards and by the Indians on the shore. The Englishmen in the boat then leaped into the water. One was drowned, but the rest escaped to the schooner. This affair gave the alarm, and the schooner immediately began to fire upon the Indians in the woods, who were all thus driven away. The other boats, however, were immediately paddled to the shore by the Indian guards that had been stationed in them, and the English prisoners were all murdered.

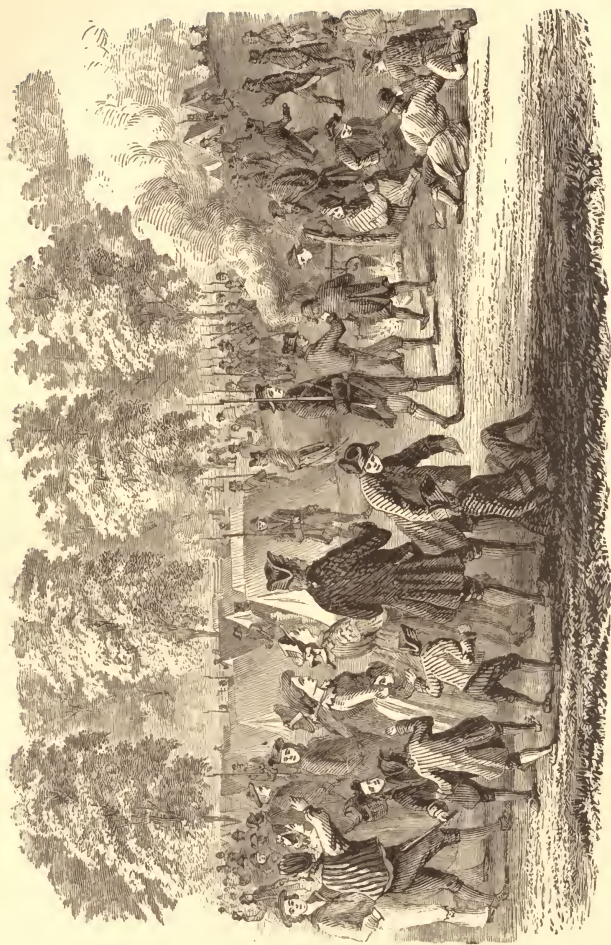
END OF THE WAR.

But we can not give in detail the history of the siege, nor of the other events connected with the war. It is sufficient to say that the English resisted all these attacks with so much vigor, and received in process of time such heavy reinforcements from the eastward, that the Indians at length became weary of the contest, and peace was restored.

CONCLUSION.

When the war with Pontiac and his allies was ended, and the western and northwestern Indians, abandoning all idea of expelling the English from their country, returned to their usual avocations, the country was once more at peace, and all the

settlements of European origin on the Atlantic seaboard, and along the line of the great lakes and western rivers to the Mississippi, as far north and west as the white man had penetrated, and southward almost to the Gulf of Mexico, were firmly, and to all appearance permanently, established under English sway. In less than ten years from this time, however, subjects of dissension arose between these colonies and the mother country, which led finally to a revolution. The origin and nature of these dissensions, and the revolt which sprang from them, will form the **subject** of the next volume of this series.



AMERICAN HISTORY

by

Jacob Abbott.

ILLUSTRATED
WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. VI.
REVOLT OF THE COLONIES.

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P R E F A C E .

It is the design of this work to narrate, in a clear, simple, and intelligible manner, the leading events connected with the history of our country, from the earliest periods, down, as nearly as practicable, to the present time. The several volumes will be illustrated with all necessary maps and with numerous engravings, and the work is intended to comprise, in a distinct and connected narrative, all that it is essential for the general reader to understand in respect to the subject of it, while for those who have time for more extended studies, it may serve as an introduction to other and more copious sources of information.

The author hopes also that the work may be found useful to the young, in awakening in their minds an interest in the history of their country,

and a desire for further instruction in respect to it. While it is doubtless true that such a subject can be really grasped only by minds in some degree mature, still the author believes that many young persons, especially such as are intelligent and thoughtful in disposition and character, may derive both entertainment and instruction from a perusal of these pages.

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THE REVOLT OF THE COLONIES

CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

DIVERGENCY OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN IDEAS.

IN order to clearly understand the origin and true character of the difficulties between the American colonies and the mother country, which led to the revolt of the colonies against the English authorities, and finally to the establishment of their independence, it is necessary to consider the vast difference between the ideas and doctrines in respect to the nature of human government which were gradually formed in the minds of the people of this country, during the continuance of the colonial condition, and which came at last universally to prevail on this side of the Atlantic, and those which had been handed down from generation to generation in Europe, and which, at that period, held universal sway in the old world. It was, in a great measure, out of this difference of view that

The early dissensions between the colonies and the parent government originated, and it was, perhaps, wholly owing to it that the difficulty became in the end irreconcilable, and that a system of government was at length inaugurated in America, so radically different, in its fundamental principles from the hereditary systems of the old world.

THE NATURAL ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT.

Among a flock or herd of gregarious animals, the strongest takes the command, and constitutes himself the monarch. This is the intention of nature. If it is doubtful which of two or more individuals is the strongest, they fight each other until the question is determined, and when one proves his superiority, the rest acknowledge his right to reign. This, too, seems to be the intention of nature, in respect to the organization and government of those vast communities of beasts and birds which are found banded together, in a state of nature, in various regions of the earth and the air.

Something very analogous to this seems to prevail when we take a step upward in the scale of animated nature, in going from flocks and herds of beasts to tribes of savage men. In these, too, the strongest assumes the command—there being included now, however, among the elements of

strength, not merely muscular and physical power—but sagacity, and other means of acquiring moral ascendancy over the minds of ordinary men. Still, it is *strength*, in this case as well as in the other, that constitutes the right to reign. The man who—all things considered—is best *able* to command, assumes the right to command. If there is a question which of two or more individuals is best able, that is, which is really the strongest, a combat settles the question, and the community acquiesces in the result.

NO OTHER GOVERNMENT POSSIBLE IN THE EARLY STAGES OF
SOCIETY.

Even if we cannot decide it to be the intention of nature that in a barbarous state of society the strongest should rule, we can, at any rate, say that so far as we can see, no other government, in such a state of things, is possible. Philosophically, and of just right, the *general will* of the *community*, whether in a herd of beasts, a flock of birds, or a tribe of savage men, is the will that ought to govern; but in such communities there is no way of ascertaining the general will, nor of embodying it in any such form as to give it practical effect. Until, therefore, the community to be governed makes such advances in intelligence, and in power

of organization, as to bring the general will to its proper ascendancy, the will of the strongest, that is, of the individual best able to regulate, control and protect, must govern, or there must be anarchy.

Accordingly in all parts of the world and among all nations, in looking back to early ages we find that human communities, at the time of their emergence from the ages of darkness and barbarism into the light of history, come into view organized under some form or other of monarchical or aristocratic government—the rulers holding their authority, not in any sense from the will of the people, but solely by virtue of the power exercised by themselves, or by their ancestors, in seizing and retaining it.

NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL LIBERTIES ENJOYED BY
THE PEOPLE IN EUROPE.

In process of time, as civilization and the arts advanced, the people of the various countries of Europe did indeed succeed in curtailing the power of their hereditary rulers, and in securing certain rights and privileges, and, in the end, some actual share in the government, for themselves; but these rights and privileges were almost always gained, and they are still held, by the people of these nations, as *grants* and concessions from their sov-

ereigns, and not as inherent rights originating in themselves.

In other words the idea in respect to human government which has always prevailed and still holds sway in a greater or less extent in all the countries of Europe, is that it is a power *above* the people—supreme—sovereign, and having an origin that ascends to so remote an antiquity that its authority is not to be questioned or inquired into, even if it is not to be considered as absolutely divine.

AMERICAN IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT.

The ideas in respect to the proper origin and true nature of governmental power that prevail in this country are radically different from these. Government is now, and always has been, in this country, considered as a species of agency, exercised by the will and at the pleasure of the principals, the people, and the power which a government wields is regarded as not by any means held in its own right, but by special grant from the people who have constituted it, and may be modified, enlarged, abridged, or entirely annulled, at the pleasure of those for whose benefit it was conferred and is to be exercised.

Thus according to the ideas of the old world the rights of the people are considered in some sense as

grants conferred upon them by government which reigns supreme through a sort of inherent sovereignty that it has held from time immemorial. Whereas in the new, it is the power of the government which is held as a grant, the rights of the people being inherent and supreme, and the government being possessed of no power but such as they hold *from* the people and during their pleasure.

CAUSE OF THIS DIVERSITY.

It is very easy to perceive the cause of this diversity in the systems that prevail on the two continents. The nations of the old world emerged from barbarism as communities already organized under the government of the strongest, the organization being made continuous by the principle of hereditary descent of power—a principle which is not only the most important element of strength for those claiming the right to reign among savage and half civilized tribes, but the only one by which a constant succession of bloody struggles and consequent anarchy can be avoided, in cases where the people are not far advanced enough in intelligence and means of combination to give peaceful effect to their united will. The power therefore of one royal or many noble families, or of both, comes down in all these nations from very ancient times,

in a condition of firm and permanent establishment, and the people are taught that this power is held of right, and even by divine institution, and that they must submit to it implicitly; and in respect to their own rights and privileges be content with such grants and concessions as these their natural superiors may deem it safe from time to time to confer upon them.

ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA.

On the other hand the exercise of governmental power and the organization of the community into a body politic had a very different origin in America. The first companies of emigrants that came to form settlements in America brought with them no germs of the aristocratic and hereditary systems of the old world. The Plymouth party for example came as a company of equals, with only a spiritual organization as a church, and this of a purely democratic character. They left England, and crossed the Atlantic, so far as their worldly interests were concerned, as so many independent men, each one responsible for taking care of himself and his family, and none of them having any right or authority, hereditary or otherwise, to exercise jurisdiction over the rest. Just before they landed, they met together, and drew up articles of

agreement in which they constituted their company a body politic for the better management of certain interests common to them all. They thus constituted a species of governmental authority which they clothed with certain specified powers, which powers were to be held and exercised solely for the benefit of the grantors, and within the limits which the grantors assigned to them.

A great many of the first companies of settlers that came to America were left in this manner entirely to themselves for a considerable period, and they severally proceeded to frame from time to time such rules and regulations as they found necessary for the common safety, each member of the community having an equal voice, and the safety and welfare of the individual members being the sole end and aim of the organization, and the measure and limit of the power conferred on the authorities constituted by the act. Such simple machinery as this was hardly to be considered as a government. It was at first rather the constitution of a partnership than the organization of a state; but it was all the government that was needed, and as it gradually enlarged itself and became more complicated, as the settlements increased and extended, the successive generations of men came into it, one after another, and grew up

in it with the understanding that government was of the nature of an agency, constituted by the people, and in all respects directly amenable to them.

THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENTS.

There was something in a certain degree analogous to the old world system, that is the system of governments originating from *above* the people, and acting downward upon them, in what were called the Proprietary colonies. In these, as is more fully explained in former volumes of this series, wealthy men in England obtained grants from the king of large tracts of land in America, and then made arrangements with families of settlers to come out and occupy them, they, namely the proprietors, reserving to themselves certain powers in respect to the government of the colonies thus established. But in these cases the practical result always was that even from the outset the principal control of public affairs was soon assumed by the settlers themselves, and in process of time, the proprietors, after vainly struggling to retain their proper share of power, were in all cases obliged to relinquish it altogether, and the democratic principle of government by the *power of the whole*, and for the benefit of the whole, reigned supreme.

EARLY INDIFFERENCE OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY IN RESPECT
TO THE COLONIES.

For some time after the first settlements in America were made, the people who formed them were left pretty much to themselves, and allowed to manage their affairs in their own way, as described in the preceding paragraphs. The government in England seemed not to consider the infant states of enough consequence to make it worth while to attempt to secure any great control over them. The government, in fact, whenever it did interpose, acted apparently without any regard to the welfare of the colonies themselves, but only with a view to the interest, for the time being, of the mother country, or rather for that of the kingly power which ruled over it. Sometimes they encouraged emigration, when they thought the effect of it would be to take out of the kingdom certain turbulent and refractory spirits that they could not very well manage in it. Then afterward when they found that a class of persons were going to America that were profitable to the community in England, they restricted or forbade emigration. When they found that the territory in America began to be considered as possessing a certain money value, they made grants of it to their friends and favorites, either to individual personages of

distinction, in payment of debts incurred for past services, or to companies of merchants formed for the purpose, and who paid for the acquisition a stipulated sum.

INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF THE COLONIES.

In a few years more, as the settlements increased, and began to acquire some importance, and especially as the commercial intercourse with the colonies—the conveying of the products which they raised, to Europe and the carrying back, from Europe, products and manufactures in return—began to be profitable, the attention of the king and his ministers was turned more particularly towards these rising communities, and they began to show a greater inclination to assume some control in the management of their affairs. Thus there came to be three parties that were more or less interested in the government of the colonies, namely, the king's government in England, the proprietors or grantees of the territory, who claimed rights and powers conferred upon them by the grants they held, and the people themselves.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS.

The conflicting claims of these parties led to a great many disputes and to much contention

These disputes were terminated at one time in one colony and at another time in another, by the issuing of what was called a royal charter, which was a very formal and solemn document, drawn up on parchment and authenticated with ponderous seals and other official formalities, which prescribed precisely the respective powers of the people of the colonies, and of the royal government, in respect to the management of their affairs.

ROYAL CHARTERS.

By these charters the inhabitants of the colonies were usually empowered to elect a legislature, and through this legislature to enact all laws and to make all rules and regulations for the internal government of the respective communities. The king of England, on the other hand, retained what is called the executive administration, as his own prerogative. He, or his ministers in his name, reserved the right to appoint the governor of the colony, and the judges who were to preside in the courts. The governor thus appointed by him was made commander-in-chief of such troops as should be sent to the colony from time to time, whether to garrison towns and fortresses in time of peace, or to conduct military operations in time of war.

Thus in general terms it may be said that the

management of the internal affairs of each community, and the regulation of the rights and duties of individuals in the ordinary relations of life, were committed to the people themselves, while the whole control of the colony considered as an organized power, was retained in the hands of the king.

CONFLICTS UNDER THE CHARTER GOVERNORS.

The granting of a charter to a colony was by no means sure to put an end to all conflicts in respect to the government of it. The governor appointed by the king and sent out from England, and the officers of the army, holding commissions directly from him, came out to the colonies to which they were sent, entertaining usually very lofty ideas of their importance, as in a certain sense the direct representatives of sovereignty. They were the depositories of power coming from above downward, and in no sense responsible to those below them. They looked down with a feeling of condescension when they were in good humor, and of contempt when in bad, upon provincial assemblies composed of men who derived their powers from the mass of the people, and were directly responsible to them for the exercise of it. In a word the governors, the judges, and the military officers in the colonies, represented the aristocratic and monarchical prin-

ciple, and acted always in the interest of the royal government at home. On the other hand the principle embodied in the legislative assemblies was democratic, and the interest which they represented was that of the people of the colony. Hence continual collisions and conflicts occurred, in which royal power and prerogative maintained by the governor, the judges, and the military men, struggled against the rights and privileges claimed by the people.

CONTESTS IN RESPECT TO THE CHARTERS.

The contests between the crown, acting chiefly through the British ministers, and the royal governors who represented the crown in America on the one hand, and the people of the colonies on the other, often turned on the interpretation of the charters, and sometimes on the validity of them. Each party claimed under the charter, greater powers or privileges than the other allowed, and when any colony made such claims and acted upon them, the ministry would sometimes declare that the charter was forfeited, and would demand of the colonial authorities the surrender of it, or they would institute proceedings in the courts of law, with a view to having it declared null and void. In some cases the governor of a colony would undertake to

annul a charter or to demand the surrender of it, and in one instance, in the case of Connecticut, a remarkable occurrence took place, which subsequently became quite famous in the history of that state.

THE CHARTER OAK AT HARTFORD.

The incident occurred in the year 1685, in the reign of King James the Second. This monarch entertained very exalted ideas of the kingly power and prerogative, and considered society as prosperous and safe just in proportion as the lower classes, by which was meant the great mass of the community, were obedient and submissive to the authorities divinely constituted to rule over them. He was much dissatisfied with the loose manner in which the colonies had been managed by the government of his predecessor, Charles the Second, who had encouraged the settlers to assume gradually a degree of control in public affairs, which he and his ministers judged wholly inconsistent with the principles of good government. He accordingly commissioned and sent out to America an energetic man, named Andros, with instructions to reform these abuses, and reduce the colonists to their proper state of submission.

The powers conferred upon Governor Andros extended over all the New England colonies. He

commenced his operations in Boston, and while engaged there in bringing the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies to terms, he wrote to the magistrates of the colony of Connecticut that their charter had been forfeited, and must be surrendered, and directed them to send it to him. This order the magistrates disregarded, and at length, after the lapse of some months, Andros proceeded to Hartford in great state, being accompanied by a large suite of attendants and followers, and an escort of troops for a body guard. At Hartford, he came into the assembly, which was at that time in session, and demanded that the charter should be given up to him. The governor of the colony, in reply to this demand, made a speech, in which he strongly urged the injustice of depriving the colony of their charter. He represented the great expense which the colonists had incurred, and the hardships they had endured, in founding the colony, and the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against savages and foreigners. He alluded particularly to the hardships to which he himself had been exposed, and the toil and suffering he had endured—and added, that it was now like giving up his life to surrender the patent and privileges which had been so dearly bought and so long enjoyed.



By this speech, and by the debate in the assembly, and the other proceedings which followed, the affair was kept in suspense until the evening, by which time a large number of people had assembled. The charter itself had been brought in and laid upon the table of the house, awaiting the action of the assembly in surrendering it, as demanded by Andros, and during the interval a plot, it seems, was formed to convey it away and conceal it, in order to prevent its falling into Andros's hands

THE CHARTER DISAPPEARS.

Accordingly, at a concerted signal, the lights were suddenly put out, and then the whole room immediately became a scene of confusion. Some of the people began at once with great pretended eagerness and alacrity to light the candles again—taking care, however, to allow time for the others to convey the charter away. As soon as the lights reappeared the charter was gone. For a long time very few persons knew what had become of it.

Andros immediately declared the existing government of the colony at an end. He brought the records of the assembly to a close by an entry therein, saying that thenceforth he took the control of the colony into his own hands, and annexed it to

Massachusetts and to the other colonies which were under his government.

He, accordingly, immediately assumed a sort of sovereign power over all the colonies of New England. But the state of things thus introduced did not long continue, for King James, by the revolution of 1688, lost his throne, and this change in the mother country was followed by a revolution in America by which Andros was deposed, and the several colonies which he had attempted to unite under his own control, returned to their former condition.

THE CHARTER OAK.

The charter of Connecticut was then brought to light again, and it now became known that it had been concealed in a hollow in the trunk of an oak that grew near the house of one of the magistrates. The cavity in which it was hidden was near the bottom of the trunk, and was large enough, as is stated in the annals of those days, "to contain a child."

This tree became, of course, in subsequent years, an object of great historical interest. It was called the Charter Oak, and it remained standing after this time for about one hundred and seventy years. Indeed, it seems in some measure to have improved in condition as it advanced in years, for the open-

ing in which the charter was concealed entirely disappeared from view. It was, however, closed by the growth of a thin, superficial layer of wood, which concealed only, but did not remedy, the decay and hollowness within. Thus the apparent health and strength of the stem, as it presented itself to the eyes of visitors, was unreal, and at length, in August, 1856, the tree was blown down in a violent storm. A portion of the wood was employed to make a frame for the ancient charter, and in this frame the venerable document is still preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Hartford. The rest of the wood was manufactured into canes, boxes, carved ornaments, and other objects of art, which were at once highly prized by all interested in the early history of New England, and have since been widely distributed throughout the country.

This famous charter constituted the fundamental law of Connecticut for more than a hundred years. It was at length superseded by the adoption of the present constitution of the state, in the year 1818.

CHAPTER II.

THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE COLONIES.

RELATION OF THE COLONIES TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

IN the conflict of jurisdiction, in respect to the government of the American colonies, between the colonies themselves on the one side, and the king and parliament of Great Britain on the other, there were four principal points in regard to which the parties came most frequently and most earnestly into collision. By considering these special subjects of controversy a little in detail, the reader will be enabled to form a pretty clear idea of the nature and the progress of the difficulty, which ended in the American revolution. These four points, representing claims made by the British and disallowed and resisted from time to time, with more or less of earnestness, by the colonies, were the following.

THE FOUR GREAT SUBJECTS OF CONTENTION.

1. The English government claimed the exclusive right to regulate and control the whole *foreign trade and commerce of the colonies*.

2. They claimed that the judges in all the colonial courts should be not only appointed by the king, that is by the home government, but that they should hold office not permanently, but only during the king's pleasure, thus making them wholly dependent on his will.

3. That the governors too should not only be appointed by the king or his ministers, but should also be made independent of the colonies by having a permanent salary settled upon them.

4. That besides the control of the foreign commerce of the colonies, parliament had also the right of *internal taxation*, in respect to them—that is the right to levy taxes upon the people themselves directly, as they were accustomed to do upon the people of England.

These claims were the four great points in dispute between the colonies and the parent state, and they continued to be in a greater or less degree subjects of contention during the whole colonial period. In regard to the first, the decision was practically in favor of the government, for the colonies, though they would not acknowledge the justice of the claim of the English to regulate their

commerce, could not resist it, and consequently this commerce was, in fact, from the beginning, subject entirely to the trade and navigation laws of Great Britain.

In regard to the second and third points, namely, those relating to the tenure of office of the judges, and the salaries of the governors, the question was never fully and finally settled, but remained in controversy—the various disputes to which it gave rise, leading to different results in different colonies and at different times. There were endless negotiations, and manœuvres, and compromises, and temporary victories of one side or the other, but no general and final settlement was ever attained.

In respect to the last—the right of the home government to assess internal taxes—the colonies were destined to gain the day. The government made vigorous and determined efforts to enforce their claim, but these efforts led to revolt, and finally to revolution.

But we must consider these several points a little more in detail.

1.—THE RIGHT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO REGULATE THE COMMERCE OF THE COLONIES.

The government claimed that the parliament being the supreme legislature of England could

justly regulate the trade and commerce of all parts of the empire, and this they proceeded to do, at a very early period in the history of the colonies, by what were called the Trade and Navigation acts. For some time the colonies scarcely called this right in question, though the system which was adopted in the exercise of it was very onerous to them. This was the colonial system, as it was called, as adopted in those days by almost all the nations of Europe that possessed colonies in any of the other quarters of the globe.

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.

The colonial system generally adopted by the European nations in those days, was this, that no colony could have any commercial intercourse with the rest of the world except *through the mother country*. This was in fact one of the chief advantages, as it was thought, in possessing colonies, namely, that thereby the trade and commerce of the mother country might be enlarged, and the merchants and navigators enriched. Accordingly a series of acts were passed from time to time by the British Parliament, the end and aim of which were to provide that all the trade and commerce of the colonies should be conducted exclusively in English ships, commanded by English captains and

manned chiefly by English sailors. No goods could be introduced into the colonies, no matter in what countries they were produced, except *through English merchants*, and none of the chief productions of the colonies could be sent to any other country than England.

DOUBLE OBJECT TO BE SECURED BY THIS SYSTEM.

There were two objects which the European nations intended to secure by the adoption of this system—for substantially the same policy was pursued by France, Spain and other European nations, in respect to their colonies. The first was to enrich their own merchants by giving them a monopoly of the trade, and the second to increase the number of seamen in the merchant service from which the government could draw recruits in time of war. If England, for example, prohibited all other nations from trading with her colonies, but required all ships entering their ports to be officered and manned mainly by Englishmen, the number of English sailors that would become trained to the sea would be vastly increased, and the sailors would be available to man the national vessels in time of war. Now the obtaining of men is one of the greatest difficulties to be encountered in the attempt of any nation to create a powerful navy. A ship can be

built and equipped in a year, and for land operations, soldiers can be trained and disciplined in six months. But to make *sailors*—men who can work coolly on a lofty yard, a hundred feet above a boiling and roaring sea, standing upon a rope that is swaying to and fro under their feet, and supporting themselves with one hand while they hold their iron grip upon an inflexible rope or a stiff and unmanageable sail with the other, requires many years of experience at sea, an experience too which must be begun in early life. Seamen therefore cannot be extemporized, and all nations who aim at being powerful at sea, feel it to be necessary so to shape their legislation as to create a great mercantile marine, in time of peace, so as to have a sufficient maritime population to draw from in time of war.

This was, doubtless, one great object which the British government had in view, in confining all the trade and commerce of the colonies to English vessels.

THE COLONIES UNABLE TO RESIST THE ENGLISH NAVIGATION LAWS.

Although at various times, and in different ways, the colonists made many complaints, and sometimes offered earnest remonstrances against the restric-

tions thus imposed upon their intercourse with the world, by the English system, they were utterly helpless in respect to making any resistance to it. The English government was supreme upon the seas, while they themselves possessed no naval power whatever. The ports of America were, consequently, entirely under the command of English guns, and all intercourse and communication with them, both of access and egress, was under English control. There was nothing, therefore, for the colonies to do but to submit.

2.—THE TENURE OF OFFICE IN THE CASE OF JUDGES.

The English government desired to make the judges that presided in the colonial courts directly responsible to the crown, by giving to the king the power of removing them and appointing others at his pleasure. The colonists, on the other hand, wished to have them, when once appointed, wholly independent, by securing them in office for life, provided they faithfully performed their duties. A great many cases were likely to occur, in which political questions would come before the judges—cases in which the rights and privileges of the people came in conflict with the powers of government, or the prerogatives of the crown. There could be no security for an impartial decision in such cases

if the king could at any time dismiss a judge from office and appoint another in his place. Whereas, if the office once conferred were permanent, the judge would be far less exposed to any temptation to swerve from a just judgment in order to please the supreme power. An independent judiciary, the colonists claimed, was the only safeguard of the rights of the people against the usurpations of governmental power.

A great many different contentions arose from time to time in the different colonies in respect to this question, sometimes one side and sometimes the other gaining a local and temporary advantage, but without any final or satisfactory result.

3.—THE SALARIES OF THE GOVERNORS.

While the English government were very earnest in their desires and efforts to keep the judges dependent on the king, and thus subservient to his will, they were equally active in their efforts to prevent the governors being held in any way under responsibility to the people of the colonies. The king's government in England appointed the governors, but the colonies paid their salaries. The government wished their salaries to be made *permanent*, so that the proper officers could pay them each year, as they became due, without any new

grant from the legislature. The colonies, on the other hand, wished to make only *annual grants* for the governor's salary, so as to put him under some obligation to manage public affairs in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the people, for fear that if he did not do so, the legislature would make difficulty about voting his salary. And at any rate, such an arrangement would necessarily lead to bringing the governor himself, and the principles of his administration, under discussion every year in the assembly, when the question of making the appropriation for his salary came up. But this was considered in England as subjecting the governor to a great indignity, and, moreover, it tended to bring him under a species of direct responsibility to the people wholly inconsistent with the ideas which prevailed among the monarchies of Europe in respect to the proper relations which should subsist between the rulers and the ruled.

THE MODERATION OF THE CLAIM MADE BY THE COLONIES.

This question in regard to the governors was, in some sense, analogous to that in relation to the judges, the aim of the king being in both cases to keep the officers in question directly and continually responsible to him alone. He had already the appointment of the judges in his own hands, and he

wished also to have the power of dismissing them. In respect to the governors, he had already both the power of appointing and dismissing them, as the governors confessedly held their offices only during the king's pleasure, and he wished to make his power over them absolute and exclusive, by requiring that the salaries which they were to receive from the people should be fixed and permanent, so as to take away from the colonies all power of effectually opposing his administration, even when they thought it unjust or oppressive.

That is to say, the king wished to exclude the colonies entirely from the exercise of any influence over either class of officers, and to make his own influence complete and absolute over both.

The colonies, on the other hand, did not claim any exclusive or absolute power for themselves. In respect to the judges, they claimed nothing for themselves, but only that those officers, once appointed, should be left free to act as their own sense of justice might dictate. And in regard to the governor, they only claimed for themselves a very limited and partial control over him. They were willing to allow the crown to appoint the governor, but, as an offset to that power, they wished that when appointed he should acknowledge

some indirect and limited responsibility to the people over whom he ruled.

4.—THE POWER OF DIRECT TAXATION.

The first of the four great matters of difference between the English government and the colonies, namely, the right to regulate trade and commerce, includes, as is evident, the right of what is called *indirect* taxation, that is, the laying and collecting duties on merchandise imported into the country. These duties are paid by the merchant or importer at the custom-house, when the goods are landed, and the amount which the merchant has thus to pay, he of course adds to the price of the goods when he sells them to the people. Thus the merchant pays in the first instance, and is afterward reimbursed by his customers. The people thus pay *indirectly*.

Direct taxation, on the other hand, consists in a levy of a certain sum or sums upon each individual of the community, according to the amount or kind of property he holds, or to the employment which he follows, or to his income, and is collected *directly* of each individual by the tax gatherers of the government.

The English government claimed the right of taxing the colonies in both these ways.

THE RESULT, IN PRACTICE.

Although the government claimed the right of both direct and indirect taxation, the practical result was, that during almost the whole colonial period, the first right was exercised by them, and the latter was not. For a long time, the population of the settlements was so small, and the amount of property possessed by the inhabitants was so insignificant, that any internal tax would have produced very little revenue, while the expense and difficulty of collecting it would have been very great. In respect to duties on imported merchandise, the case was different. Such a tax as that is very easily collected, as it is paid at once in large sums by the merchant or importer before the goods really enter the country. The work of collecting the several amounts from individual consumers is thrown upon the merchants, who get back, in detail, the duties they have paid in the gross, by adding the amount to the price of the goods, thus saving the government all trouble.

Then, besides, the people are much more easily induced to pay a tax of this kind, which is, as it were, concealed from their view by being merged in the purchase money of an article they require, than they are to submit to a *direct* taxation in any form, to the same amount. Half the people do not really

understand the operation of the system, and those who do understand it, and who remonstrate against it, find it very difficult, in most cases, to awaken in the minds of the rest, any very decided opposition to an evil so hidden from their view.

The consequence was, in practice, that the British government adopted the principle of *indirect* taxation of the colonies by restrictions on the commerce, and by duties on imports, at a very early period ; and the colonies submitted to the imposts thus made with very little remonstrance.

On the other hand, though the government claimed an equal *right* to levy direct taxes, they did not attempt for a long time to exercise the right, on account of the small return which could be expected, considered in relation to the difficulty, expense and opposition which the attempt would occasion.

THE TIME FOR DIRECT TAXATION ARRIVES.

At length however the time arrived when the British government deemed it expedient for them to assume their long dormant right to raise a revenue from the colonies by direct taxation. They were led to this conclusion, by the growing greatness and wealth of the colonies, taken in connection with the increasing expenses of the mother

country, arising from the enormously costly wars in which she had been engaged. The conquest of Canada too seems to have had a great influence upon them. So long as the French held their possessions in North America the British were somewhat cautious in their treatment of their own colonies, not knowing to what complications any disagreement between the colonies and the mother country might lead. But when at last Canada fell into their hands, and thus they obtained secure possession of the whole country, and every fortress and stronghold throughout the whole extent of it was garrisoned by their troops, and all the ports occupied and commanded by their ships of war, they thought the time had come for them to assume that supreme civil and political authority over the colonies which they contended the central government had a right to exercise over all the provinces of the empire.

GROUNDS OF RESISTANCE ON THE PART OF THE COLONIES.

The colonists were prepared to resist this claim, and the ground of their resistance was this—not that they objected to be taxed in their fair proportion, to raise money for the general expenses of the empire—but only that they claimed that the assessing and collecting these taxes should be left to

their own legislatures, and not be under the control of the parliament of England. They grounded their claim to determine for themselves the amount that they would pay, and to decide upon the mode in which the amount should be collected, on certain inherent and indefeasible rights vested in every Englishman, according to the principles of the British constitution.

THEORY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

According to the principles of the British constitution it is in theory the inherent and indefeasible right of the king to govern the country without any dictation or control from the people. And it is the inherent and indefeasible right of the people, meaning by the people that portion of them that are represented in the house of commons—to pay, or withhold, the expense of such government, just as they please, without any dictation or control from the king.

PRACTICAL OPERATION OF THE SYSTEM.

The practical operation of this system is excellent—I mean in a democratic sense—for it really transfers the power to the people. The king's own personal means for providing for the expenses of government, are very limited. He can do nothing

unless he is supplied with revenues in some way from his subjects. Now if he is deprived of all power of raising revenues himself, and is dependent entirely upon the action of the people for the assessments made, his hands are completely tied. He can carry on the government only so far as the people—meaning always in the case of England that portion of the people that are represented in the house of commons—approve of his measures and vote the funds for carrying them into effect.

Thus, for example, the king of England may declare war whenever he pleases, but he can have no ships built, to enable him to pass over to the enemy's country, and no provisions purchased to supply the armies, unless the house of commons furnish the supplies. Thus while the right of making war rests, in theory, with the king, the absolute control of his decision rests with the house of commons.

Even in respect to the ordinary legislation of the realm, the theory of the constitution originally was that parliament is an advisory body only, called together by the king to give him their counsel in respect to such questions as he should lay before them, and to mature the details of measures which he should indicate as desirable. Even to this day an act of parliament takes the form not of a law

enacted by the two houses, but of a *recommendation to the king* of a law for *him* to enact.

This however, though it might have been very different originally, is in the present age of the world merely a matter of form. The actual power of the British parliament in controlling the administration of public affairs, both external and internal, is as complete as that of any legislative assembly in the world. The important thing to be observed is that parliament holds this power, not directly, and as a matter of theory and form, but *indirectly* and *contrary* to the theory and the form, through the *power which it claims of granting or withholding the supplies*.

WATCHFUL JEALOUSY OF ENGLISHMEN IN RESPECT TO THIS POWER.

It is very natural that, since this control over the revenues to be raised by taxation, constitutes almost the sole hold which the people of the country have over a government which would otherwise be irresponsible and supreme, they should be very tenacious of the right, and very jealous of any encroachments upon it. This has accordingly always been the case. This question of taxation and the supplies has in fact been the arena on which have been fought nearly all the conflicts between the

crown and the people in England, for centuries. The people in the end have entirely gained the day. And though the old forms still remain, giving the power ostensibly to the king, the actual control has passed entirely into the hands of the people. The king of England no longer governs. The person of the sovereign serves a very important purpose as the visible badge and emblem of the national unity, and the point of concentration and support for the national loyalty; but his opinions and wishes, in respect to the management of public affairs, are no longer of any account. The people—meaning still always, that portion of them that are represented in the house of commons—by controlling the ways and means, control the policy, and their right to do so they consider as the great inherent and indefeasible political right of an Englishman.

FEELING OF THE AMERICAN COLONISTS.

It was natural that the emigrants to the settlements in America should bring with them these ideas, and that they should attempt to give effect to them in the institutions which grew up under their direction and control in the new world. Accordingly in all the colonial governments taxes were levied, and grants of money were made, by the legislative assemblies which were chosen by the

people, and the royal governors, though they commanded the troops, and administered the whole executive power, were very strictly precluded from exercising any function whatever, connected with the raising of money. And now when the news came from England that the British ministry were going to bring forward a measure in parliament, for a general taxation of the colonies by parliamentary authority, it excited among them universal indignation and alarm. They began earnestly to complain, taking the ground that it was wholly inconsistent with the time-honored principles of the British constitution that free-born Englishmen should be taxed by a legislative authority which they had no voice in electing.

ARGUMENT OF THE BRITISH WRITERS.

The argument of the British writers in reply to this claim, was that though it was true that British subjects could not be taxed except by themselves or their representatives, it was not necessary that these representatives should be actually chosen by them. It was only a small portion of the actual population of England that had the privilege of voting for members of parliament, and yet the taxes voted by parliament were binding on the whole. Those who did not vote were *virtually* represented, they said.

A certain portion of the people of England elected the parliament. The parliament, when thus elected however, *represented* the whole, and were authorized to act for them, and to bind them. The people of the colonies were in this respect in precisely the same condition with those portions of the home population which had no voice in choosing the members of parliament. They were *virtually* represented. In other words the British constitution prescribed a mode in which by the action of a portion of the people a legislative body was chosen, which, when chosen, represented the whole population of the empire, including those inhabiting remote and foreign colonies, as well as those that remained in their native land.

THE REPLY OF THE COLONISTS TO THIS ARGUMENT.

To this the colonists replied, that if the people of England who did not vote for members of parliament might be considered in any sense as represented in the parliament, it could only be because their interests were the same with those who did vote, and thus these interests were sure to be considered; and also because the taxation decided upon by the parliament affected the non-voting portion of the people just as it did their immediate constituents—the voting portion—so that they could not

do injustice to one class without doing the same in justice to the other. In both these respects the case of the colonists was entirely different. Their interests were not in any degree the same with those of the people of England, nor was the system of taxation to be the same. There could thus be no security that their interests would be properly considered in parliament since, there were none of the members of that body, or of their constituents, that shared those interests; nor any guarantee against their being oppressively taxed, since those who were to vote the taxes would not, either in themselves or by their constituents, be in any way affected by them. Consequently, however it might be with the non-voting portion of the people of England, they themselves, the colonists maintained, were not even *virtually* represented in the English parliament.

A REAL REPRESENTATION OF THE COLONIES IN PARLIAMENT
PROPOSED.

An obvious remedy for the difficulty of the colonies not being represented in parliament would be to allow them to elect a certain number of members to that body, and this plan was proposed, and was to some extent seriously considered. But it was not acceptable to either party. In the first

place it was wholly inconsistent with the conceptions entertained in England of the grandeur and dignity of that body, that its powers and prerogatives should be shared by an influx of unknown and insignificant people from remote and subordinate provinces. The idea of admitting delegates from the settlers in wild woods three thousand miles away, to a share in the government of old England, was wholly inadmissible.

Nor was the plan any more acceptable to the colonists themselves. They knew very well that if the plan were adopted at all it would be only a very small number of representatives that the colonists would be allowed to elect, and that these would sooner or later consist of scheming and ambitious men, who, when they found themselves so far away from their constituents, and entirely removed from any possible supervision, would be easily led by the bribes and blandishments of the government to vote pretty much as the government pleased. The colonists were determined to be satisfied with nothing less than having their own legislative assemblies on their own ground, and to have the revenues of the colonies entirely under the control of those assemblies, just as those of the parent country were under that of the parliament of England.

The government on the other hand were resolved that the parliament of England elected by a portion of the people of England alone, should be the supreme legislature of the empire and act as the virtual representative of the whole imperial population.

On this point the colonists and the mother country were to take issue.

CHAPTER III.

THE STAMP ACT.

THE FIRST ATTEMPTED TAXATION.

WHEN the British minister had finally come to the conclusion that the plan of taxing the colonies in America by the home government, and without the consent of the colonial legislatures, should be carried into effect, it became very important to determine in what form the experiment should first be made. There is a great difference in different taxes, in respect to the difficulty of collecting them, and also in respect to the facility with which they can be resisted or evaded. It was finally determined that the first tax should be levied on legal and business documents, and should be collected by stamps. The law which parliament passed to carry this measure into effect became afterward greatly celebrated in history under the name of the Stamp Act. It provided that all business documents, such as deeds, leases, receipts, drafts, bills of exchange, promissory notes and the like, in order

to be of legal validity must have certain stamps attached to them, which stamps were to be purchased beforehand of government officers appointed to sell them. The money thus obtained by the sale of the stamps constituted the tax. There were several important advantages in this plan which admirably adapted it to the end which the government had in view.

ADVANTAGES OF THE PLAN.

There were three special advantages which seemed to characterize this particular plan.

1. The tax being collected in the form of money received for the sale of the stamps to stationers and others, who would have to keep supplies for their customers, would be received in advance by the government, in large sums, and so not only would all the expense and trouble of collecting it of individuals be saved, but all danger of irritating collisions with the people by tax gatherers, and all questions in respect to the amount which each one was to pay would be avoided.

2. The plan seemed to deprive individuals, too, of all opportunity and all means of resisting the tax. No one was absolutely called upon to pay anything. If a man wished to buy a house, he could not have a valid title unless he had a stamp upon the deed, and this stamp he would have to

pay for. But this stamp he was not obliged to buy. If he was willing to go without his house, or if he could content himself with a title to it not valid in law, he could do so. Thus, the tax came to him in the form, not of a claim, but of the offer of a privilege. The government did not come to him saying—"Pay us a tax"—but, "If you buy a stamp of us, we will give you a legal title to the house you want to buy. If not, not. You can do just as you please about it."

Putting a man in this position, they thought, would render him entirely helpless in resisting the tax.

The government knew very well that there were many persons in the colonies who were prepared to resist in the most desperate manner, and at all hazards, the attempt to collect money of them under authority of an act of parliament, and they thought it probable that if it were proposed to collect a tax in any ordinary way they would refuse to pay, and that when the officers should attempt to seize their property, they would call upon the people to assist them, and that serious riots, and perhaps extended insurrections, might ensue. But on this plan, all such opportunities to make disturbance would be avoided, inasmuch as nobody would be directly called upon to pay any money

The most, therefore, that any malcontent could do would be to refuse to use the stamps ; but this, it seemed, would only injure himself by interrupting and embarrassing his business. They thought there were enough who *would* use the stamps in any event, to set the machinery of the system in motion, and that the malcontents, having nothing tangible to resist, would exhaust their hostility in vain threats and angry remonstrances, and then, finding themselves helpless, would gradually, one after another, fall in, and in the end, the country would acquiesce in what it could not help, and all would go well.

3. The third advantage, or rather favorable characteristic of the plan, as it was carried out in the act of parliament, was, that the prices fixed for the several stamps required were very low. This they thought would make the people much less eager to resist the measure. In fact, the object of the government in this first step, was not to collect any considerable amount of money, but only to establish the principle that parliament claimed the right to tax the colonies, and that they had power to carry the claim into effect. This principle, once acquiesced in by the colonies on a small scale, might afterward, they thought, be easily extended to any limit required.

GREAT EXCITEMENT IN AMERICA.

As soon as the news of the passage of the stamp act arrived in America, it produced the greatest excitement. Parties immediately began to be formed, one for and one against the government. Of course, all the officers of state that held their appointments directly or indirectly from the king, took sides in favor of the law. Among these officers were the judges in some of the principal courts. There were also a great number of wealthy merchants, and other aristocratic people in the large cities, who, together with many of the more humble classes that were in various ways dependent upon them, or at least under their influence, also took the same side. The persons thus interested in sustaining the government, though comparatively few in number, were influential from their wealth and position; and they formed quite a formidable party. They soon received the name of tories—while those who opposed the taxation—constituting, in fact, the great bulk of the population in nearly all the colonies, called themselves whigs.

PERIOD WHEN THESE TRANSACTIONS OCCURRED.

The stamp act was passed in the spring of 1765. This was eight or ten years before the actual commencement of hostilities between the colonies and

mother country took place. All this long interval was spent in disputes and discussions, growing more and more bitter every year, and in the gradual taking of sides by the various classes of the community, as well as in the making of preparations on the one part and on the other for the final conflict.

The act was passed, as is stated above, in the spring of 1765. The news arrived in America a few weeks later. The system was, however, not to go into effect until the following November. This delay was necessary, in some measure, in order to allow time for the designing and printing of the stamps in England, and for sending over and distributing a sufficient supply to all the colonies, so that they might be ready in the hands of the various officers appointed to sell them, when the time for putting the system into operation should arrive. It was thought, also, that this delay would allow time for the excitement, which it was well known the first tidings of the adoption of the measure would necessarily awaken in the colonies, to subside.

“They will, doubtless, be furious at the outset,” said the British ministers to themselves, “when the news first reaches them; but the lapse of a few months will allow them time to cool, and by No-

vember, they will find that it is useless for them to resist, and so will quietly submit."

THE EXCITEMENT DOES NOT SUBSIDE.

But, as the summer months passed away, the excitement, instead of appearing to subside, went on continually increasing and extending. The discussion was carried on among the people with great vehemence, in pamphlets and newspapers, and also in harangues from orators in public meetings convened to consider the crisis. The legislatures of the different colonies took up the subject, and after very earnest and excited debates, passed resolutions reaffirming the right which they alleged was the common birthright of all Englishmen, to control by their own chosen representatives, the extent and the nature of the taxation which they were called upon to sustain.

THE TRUE POINT AT ISSUE.

And here I must remind my readers again that they must not lose sight of the true point at issue in this dispute, which was, not whether the colonies should be taxed for their proper proportion of the expenses of the imperial government, but whether the mode and measure of their taxation should be controlled by their own representatives, or by the

representatives of the English people at home. "You," said the colonists, in effect, to the English people, "claim the right through your representatives, to regulate and control all the taxation that is to be imposed upon you. We only claim the same right, in behalf of our representatives, to superintend the taxation that is to be imposed upon us. Just grant to us, in our distant settlements beyond the seas, the same rights and privileges that you yourselves claim at home, and that is all that we require."

On the other hand the government maintained that the parliament, though the members were elected by voters residing within the kingdom alone, formed the supreme legislature of the empire, and though chosen by a portion only of the king's subjects, virtually represented the whole.

GENERAL CONVENTION CALLED.

Besides the resolutions that were passed by the different colonial legislatures, protesting against the obnoxious law, the legislature of Massachusetts took a much more decided step by proposing that a convention should be called of delegates from all the colonies, to meet in New York and consider the crisis, and concert some common action for averting the danger. They passed resolutions to this effect,

which when approved by the governor were to be sent to the other colonies, inviting them to appoint delegates to attend the proposed convention. So much time would however be required for convening the legislatures to elect the delegates, and for the various consultations and discussions to which the project would give rise, and also for the journeys of the delegates, some of whom would have to come from distant provinces by the slow and toilsome modes of travelling in usage in those days, that the period for the meeting of the convention could not be fixed earlier than the second week in October, which was only three weeks before the time that the stamp act was to go into effect.

This was in one respect a favorable circumstance, as it made the governor less unwilling to approve the act of the legislature, and without his approval it could not pass. The governor was of course in favor of sustaining the tax, and was consequently interested in thwarting and hindering all plans of the colonists for opposing it. But he seems to have thought that by refusing his assent to the act of the legislature calling the convention he might only increase the excitement of the people, and so do more injury than the convention itself could do, especially as it was not to meet until so near the time at which the stamp act was to go into opera-

tion, that the proceedings of the body could have little immediate effect.

Besides, in the resolutions passed by Massachusetts calling the convention, the object was stated to be to prepare a joint remonstrance or protest, on the part of all the colonies, to be forwarded to the king, praying him to withdraw the obnoxious measure. And the governor seems to have thought that if the colonies would be satisfied with banding themselves together only for the purpose of remonstrance and protest, he might as well allow them to have their own way.

This project of a convention seemed to look only to peaceful and legal modes of opposing the tax, but unfortunately any remedy which could be applied by these means seemed too tardy for the impatience of the people, and before the time arrived when the stamps were to be offered for sale, and the law put in force, serious riots, and other very alarming disturbances, broke out in several of the large cities and towns.

PREPARATIONS MADE IN BOSTON FOR COLLECTING THE TAX.

The excitement which in the end led to the riots seems to have been increased by the preparations that were made in Boston for collecting the tax. A person named Oliver was appointed by the gov-

ernment, to sell the stamps, and he prepared a small building in what is now State Street for the stamp office, where merchants and others were to come and purchase their supplies when the time for opening the sale should arrive. This greatly increased the excitement, and evoked much angry discussion, and many threats, from people assembled at the corners of the streets and in other public places.

THE LIBERTY TREE.

The favorite place of assembling, especially for persons belonging to the middling and lower classes of society was under a great tree which stood in the road leading out of the town toward the Neck, not far from where Boylston market now stands. The tree was a large spreading elm, at that time about fifty years old. It stood before a house that was nearly opposite the present market, and for some reason or other it was quite a place of resort during the pleasant summer evenings, and ultimately it became the head-quarters of the most violent opposers of the stamp act, and received the name of The Liberty Tree.

THE EFFIGIES.

At length one morning about the middle of

August the attention of the passers-by along the road was attracted to two effigies which they saw suspended in the tree, and very soon a great crowd was collected at the spot. One of these effigies represented Mr. Oliver, the stamp officer who was preparing his stamp office in State Street. The other was a monstrous boot, with an image of the devil peeping out at the top of it. This last "pagantry" as the writers of the day called it, was intended to denote Lord *Bute*, an English minister, who had taken a very active part in procuring the enactment of the stamp act, and who was consequently the object of special resentment and hostility in America.

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON.

One of the most prominent of the public men at this time on the stage in Massachusetts was Hutchinson, commonly known in history as Governor Hutchinson, though he was not governor at this time. At the period of the stamp act he was the chief justice of Massachusetts, an appointment which he held from the British government; and though he was a native of Boston, and had lived nearly all his life in the colony, all his political influence was devoted to the service of the home government, and to supporting the powers and pre-

rogatives of the crown. It was of course very convenient for the British ministry to have an able and influential colonist on their side in these controversies. So they rewarded Hutchinson generously with offices and honors, and he looked exclusively to the home government for support; while yet in his dealings with the people of the colony he was careful to act always with moderation and discretion, and to manifest a sufficient degree of regard for the opinions and wishes of the people, to preserve his influence among them. He was in a word one of that class of politicians that are strenuous for upholding and preserving the authority of the powers that be, and assiduous in cultivating the favor of the rich and great.

Governor Hutchinson was, however, a very superior man, both in respect to natural ability and literary attainments. He was educated at Harvard College, and afterward studied law in Boston. During the whole course of his life, he took a great deal of interest in everything relating to the history of the colony, and to its growth and prosperity; and he had collected before this time a great number of valuable books and manuscripts relating to the early history of Massachusetts and New England, all which he was preserving with great care, in a handsome residence which he occupied in the town.

Oliver, the officer appointed to furnish the stamps was the brother-in-law of Governor Hutchinson—or rather of Chief Justice Hutchinson, for that was the title by which he was designated at the period in question.

PLANS FOR REMOVING THE EFFIGIES.

As soon as the chief justice was informed of the effigies which had been hung in the night in the great elm tree, he directed the sheriff to go and take them down.

But the sheriff did not do it. All the force which the officer of a court has at his command, consists first of his own deputies, who are very few in number, and then of such other citizens as he may find at hand, and summon to aid him in executing the law. Such a force as this usually proves amply sufficient for arresting single criminals, or attaching property in ordinary civil suits; but in this case the sheriff seems to have been afraid that it would not be sufficient to enable him to take down the effigies from the midst of the large and excited crowd that was gathered around the tree.

The governor of the colony also, Bernard, was very indignant at the outrage, as he considered it, and brought the subject before his council, with a view of causing the effigies to be taken down by

means of the military force under his command—for, while a sheriff, in executing the mandate of a judge, has power only to call upon citizens to aid him, the governor of any state or colony, being in command of the military force, can call out a body of troops to enforce his authority, should occasion require.

The council, however, deemed it inexpedient to resort to military force, in this case. They thought it more prudent to leave the effigies on the tree, as any attempt to remove them by the troops would only increase and prolong the excitement, which they supposed, if the government took no notice of the affair, would soon subside.

So the effigies remained on the tree, and were surrounded all the day by crowds of people continually coming and going, and all in a state of great excitement. Some scowled with anger, and uttered dark threats and imprecations. Others pelted the hanging effigies with sticks and stones, and filled the air with derisive laughter, mockings and jeers.

AN OPEN RIOT.

Thus far there had been no actual breach of the peace or violation of law—nothing but the hanging of effigies upon a tree. During the day, however, a plan was formed among the leaders, for some

more decided action. The plan was to take down the effigies that evening, and march with them in procession down King Street, as the present State Street was then called, and demolish the stamp office which Oliver had provided there, and then to proceed to Fort Hill, where Mr. Oliver lived, and there to burn the effigies in a bonfire, to be made for the purpose in the street, in front of Mr. Oliver's house.

This plan was, accordingly, carried into effect. As soon as it was dark, a large crowd collected under the great tree, and the leaders immediately proceeded to take down the effigies, and to convey them, at the head of a rude and noisy throng, along what is now Washington Street to King Street, and there they entirely demolished the stamp office building. This was not a difficult task, as the building was a small one, and built of wood. After accomplishing this work, the tumultuous procession was formed again, and marched, bearing the effigies and attended by a noisy throng of men and boys, to the appointed place at Fort Hill, where they proceeded to the work of making a bonfire.

In the meantime, some of Mr. Oliver's friends — among them the chief justice himself—hearing of the disturbance, repaired to the spot, and began to concert some measures for putting a stop to the

proceedings. This, however, only exasperated the rioters, and made them more furious than ever, and they finally attacked Mr. Oliver's house. The family made their escape, and the mob commenced breaking the windows and injuring the furniture. After doing considerable damage of this kind, they went away.

The next day, Mr. Oliver, who seems to have been by this time thoroughly alarmed, authorized his friends to announce on 'Change that he had resigned his position as stamp officer. The populace were, however, not satisfied with this, but insisted that he should come to the great elm tree, and there publicly declare his renouncement of the office. The tree itself now began to be greatly celebrated. It was about this time that it received its name. The space around it, in the open air, they called Liberty Hall, and here the populace held nightly assemblages, to confer together, and listen to the harangues of orators, denouncing the attempts of the government of Great Britain to govern and tax them through the action of the English parliament, instead of through their own proper legislatures, and to reiterate their solemn determination never to submit.

All these proceedings, though plainly of a lawless and riotous character, were approved, or at

least were not condemned by the better portion of the community. Rioting in theory was wrong, they admitted, as people always do ; but then, in this case, all other remedies seemed too tardy in their operation, and the people could not be much blamed for taking the case into their own hand. The blame was not for them, but for the government that had passed the outrageous law which they were resisting. This is the way, in fact, that people generally reason in respect to riots which are aimed at the accomplishment of political ends which they approve.

Besides in this case the mob had thus far really shown some degree of moderation. They had done no serious mischief except to destroy the stamp office, which everybody admitted ought to have been destroyed.

RIOTING AS A REMEDY FOR WRONG.

Although the principle of riotous resistance to law is never approved by any one as a legitimate and safe remedy for the unjust or oppressive measures of government, yet it has generally been found, in times of public excitement, that any party is prone to justify, or at least is found to condemn very faintly, any acts of lawless violence perpetrated on *their* side. This is especially the case at the commence-

ment of the proceedings, which are usually marked with a certain degree of moderation, which however soon entirely disappears. The truth is that although men actuated only by a sense of honest indignation against an oppressive law may begin the work, a quite different class of persons always very soon come forward to carry it on. There is always in every community a large number of lawless and desperate men, who like nothing better than an opportunity to carry terror and destruction through the streets of a town, and, under pretence of accomplishing some political object, to indulge their own criminal passion for plunder and debauchery. Of course all such men as these, that existed in Boston at this time, joined the party of rioters, and did all they could to increase the excitement and prepare the way for a new and more serious outbreak.

There was no difficulty in doing this, for the more respectable portion of the community seemed to justify what had been done, and this of course encouraged the riotous and desperate men to attempt more. Various circumstances occurred, and many rumors were circulated, which tended to widen and deepen the general hostility to the government, and to direct it more and more strongly against Chief Justice Hutchinson.

THE SACKING OF HUTCHINSON'S RESIDENCE.

At length one night a week or two after the first disturbance a bonfire was built in the street, as a signal to call the mob together. A large and noisy assemblage soon convened, and when they were all ready they proceeded in a crowd to the houses of some persons who were most obnoxious to the people, on account of their connection with the stamp act. They attacked and plundered two houses. One was that of a judge, in one of the courts. They destroyed all the judge's papers and also the records and files belonging to the court. Another was the residence of Mr. Hallowell who was connected with the custom-house. They plundered the house, and then breaking into the cellar they found there a large quantity of wines and liquors, and bringing them out they distributed them among the crowd.

After carousing a short time and becoming partially or wholly intoxicated, the mob set off again towards Hutchinson's house. Many of the men were now in a state of drunken phrenzy. When they reached the house they burst open the doors, and began at once pillaging it of everything that was possible to appropriate, and destroying what they could not take away. They found a large sum of money which they seized and divided. They

broke up the furniture and the mirrors, defaced and spoiled the paintings, and even battered down many of the interior partitions. They seized all the books and papers which the chief justice had been collecting for so many years, and which would have been of incalculable value to future generations, and bringing them out into the street they piled them up upon a large bonfire and burnt them all.

Finally they went away leaving the house a mass of ruins. Of course while this work was going on, and for the greater part of the remainder of the night, the whole town was in a state of great alarm and anxiety, no one knowing what freak an infuriated and drunken mob might next undertake to play.

CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION.

Of course after this, public sentiment was entirely changed in respect to the wisdom of encouraging a resort to mobs and riots as a remedy for political wrongs. The whole community at once aroused itself to the necessity of arresting such proceedings as these. A large public meeting of citizens was held the next day, and resolutions were passed condemning the rioters and recommending to the municipal authorities to take vigorous measures to prevent a repetition of such outrages.

Large rewards were offered for discovery of the ringleaders, and yet, though some of them were afterward arrested, there was still so large a portion of the community who sympathized with them, and considered their conduct as at least excusable, that none of them were ever punished.

RIOTS IN OTHER PLACES.

The example set by the Bostonians of riotous opposition to the stamp act was followed in the principal towns of the other colonies. The chief object aimed at by the mob in all these cases was to compel the persons who had been appointed as distributors of the stamps, to resign their places, to prevent others being appointed in their stead, and also to intimidate other persons of distinction, who were inclined to defend or excuse the tax.

In Providence they paraded effigies of such persons through the streets, with halters around their necks, and then burnt the effigies upon great bonfires, made sometimes of the furniture obtained from the sack of the houses of the obnoxious individuals.

In Newport they destroyed two houses in this way. The stamp distributor saved his, however, by coming out and solemnly promising the mob that he would not attempt to execute his office.

In various places in Connecticut, too, they burnt effigies in this way, and compelled the stamp distributors to resign. In New York they printed a copy of the stamp act upon a big placard, headed *The Folly of England and the Ruin of America*, and paraded it about the streets—a great throng accompanying it, and filling the air with groans and shouts of execration.

In Virginia, in addition to other measures taken, the lawyers held a meeting and solemnly pledged themselves not to conduct any business in court, that had stamps attached to the papers. Thus in case any persons should seem disposed to use the stamps for the sake of having their business transacted legally, they could find no attorney or counsellor to take charge of it for them.

In Maryland, the appointed stamp distributor, in order to avoid the danger, fled from the town and went to New York, intending to wait there until the storm should blow over. But his townsmen sent a delegation after him, and made such representations to him, that he thought it most prudent to resign the office.

In Philadelphia, the excitement was as great as in the other towns. All the stamp distributors were compelled to resign, and when the ship which was bringing the stamps from England arrived in

the river, and was coming up toward the town, all the vessels set their colors at half-mast, and the bells of all the churches tolled a funeral knell.

TOTAL FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO CARRY THE ACT INTO
EFFECT.

The time at length arrived—the first of November—when the law was to go into effect. The day was ushered in everywhere with the most gloomy solemnities. At Boston, the bells were tolled, and all the shops and stores were closed, while effigies of various persons considered as authors and abettors of the law, were carried about the street, and then pulled to pieces or burned. At Portsmouth, the bells were tolled, and a general invitation was given to the people to come and attend the funeral of liberty. A coffin adorned with splendid decorations was prepared, and was inscribed conspicuously with the words,

LIBERTY, AGED CXIV YEARS.

This coffin was borne solemnly through the streets, accompanied by the music of muffled drums, and by the tolling of the bells and the firing of minute guns. It was conveyed thus to a place where a grave had been dug, and the process of interment was commenced, when suddenly the cry

arose that signs of life had appeared, that Liberty was not yet entirely dead. So the coffin was drawn up again, the inscription was changed to LIBERTY REVIVED, the bells began to ring merry peals, and the people filled the air with shouts of rejoicing and triumph.

In New York, when the stamps arrived, the governor, fearing that the people might seize them, had them all taken to the fort for safe keeping. The people then seized the governor's coach, and putting an effigy of the governor in it, they drew it through the streets to the public gallows. They hung the effigy on the gallows, with the figure of a devil by the side of it, and an imitation of a bill of lading with a stamp attached to it, suspended near. They finally took down the effigies and the gallows, and piling them upon the coach, they proceeded to the governor's house, and there burnt them—coach, gallows, effigies and all, before his eyes.

Such demonstrations as these showed very clearly the popular feeling, but there was a much more decided and substantial proof of the resolute determination of the Americans, never to submit to the law, in the fact that the use of the stamps throughout all the colonies, in all business and legal transactions was persistently and obstinately refused. The consequence was, immense difficulty and em-

barrassment for all concerned. For a time, business was almost entirely suspended, but it was gradually resumed without using the stamps, notwithstanding the illegality of all papers not thus authenticated.

In addition to this, the people in many of the principal towns, by way of retaliation upon the people of England for attempting, through their parliament to usurp an unjust authority over them, held public meetings and resolved to abstain from the use of all English manufactures. They resolved to make everything they possibly could for themselves, and what they could not thus contrive to manufacture in some way or other, they would do without. They would spin their own wool into yarn, and weave cloth from it at home, and in order that the supply of wool might not fail, they resolved to buy no more mutton or lamb in the market, in order that the animals might all be saved for their wool.

These resolutions, and the measures taken in furtherance of them, were carried into effect to such an extent, that the trade of the English merchants with the colonies was very much curtailed, and the merchants began to find great fault with the government for having pursued a policy tending thus to exasperate and drive away from them their best customers.

REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.

The passage of the stamp act through parliament was by no means unanimous. There was a large party in England that were strongly opposed to it, and they resisted it most strenuously at the time it was enacted; some on the ground that the Americans were right, and that the parliament chosen in England to represent the people of England, had no power to assess taxes or legislate in any way for a different and distant community in America. Others condemned the measure as impolitic, and as only tending to create difficulty and disturbance in America, to no useful end.

These persons were, however, outvoted, and the law was passed, but now that the difficulties and disturbances which they had predicted had really occurred, so as to verify in full, and more than verify, their predictions, their influence in the councils of the nation greatly increased. They began to call for a repeal of the law. The merchants, too, who found that they were suffering from the loss of their trade, began to remonstrate. These and other difficulties occurring in England, led to changes in the ministry which facilitated a change of policy.

It was finally decided to repeal the law, but in order to soothe their wounded pride, and to soften the mortification of being obliged to retreat from

the position they had taken, the ministers first carried through parliament what they called a declaratory act, solemnly affirming that the king and parliament *had the right* to make laws "to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the British crown, in *all cases whatsoever*."

This declaration having been made, the bill for the repeal of the stamp act was brought in. It was prefaced by a preamble, which assigned as a reason for the repeal, that "the continuance of the act would be attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of serious detriment to the commercial interests of the kingdom."

The original friends of the bill would, however, not give up the point without a very earnest and protracted struggle. They resisted to the last, and the debate which took place on the question of repeal was one of the most excited and violent discussions which ever occurred in the British parliament. A great many petitions and remonstrances were read, some for and some against the repeal. Many of these were from merchants and mercantile bodies in London. Others were from the different legislatures in America. A petition was presented from the convention of delegates from the colonies which had been held in New York, but it was not received, on the ground that the conven-

tion was a body not known to the British constitution.

The debate continued all night. At length, at three o'clock in the morning, the vote was taken in the house of commons. There were two hundred and seventy-five in favor of, and one hundred and sixty-seven against the repeal. The bill was immediately carried to the house of lords by the mover, attended by about two hundred of the other members.

There followed another debate in the house of lords, but the bill finally passed that body, and in due time received the signature of the king—and the stamp act was at an end.

SATISFACTION AND JOY OF THE AMERICANS.

The news of the repeal of the stamp act was received everywhere in America with the most joyful acclamations. The bells were rung, bonfires and illuminations were kindled, processions were formed, and votes of thanks to parliament and to the king were passed by the various colonial assemblies. All with one accord determined to resume at once the usual commercial intercourse with England, and the purchase and use of English manufactures. At a great public meeting in Philadelphia, it was unanimously resolved, "That to

demonstrate our zeal to Great Britain, and our gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act, each of us will, on the fourth of June next, being the birthday of our gracious sovereign, dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of Great Britain, and give what homespun clothes we have to the poor."

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF THE QUARREL.

THE CONTROVERSY NOT SETTLED BY THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT.

THE repeal of the stamp act operated to suspend only, the great controversy between the colonies and the mother country, and not at all to bring it to a close. It settled nothing, for by the declaratory act which accompanied it, and by which the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies was affirmed in the most formal manner, and in the most absolute terms, it was made plain that parliament and the government only retreated from the position they had taken for the purpose of gaining ground for a new and more decided advance, in some other direction.

Thus, although the mass of the population received the news of the repeal with unbounded exultation, the joy of the more thoughtful and far-seeing men was mingled with a great many gloomy forebodings. Indeed, many of the more prominent statesmen began to prepare their minds for the

renewal of the conflict, which they thought would not probably be very long deferred. They even began to concert measures for putting the country in a state of readiness to meet the emergency, when it should arrive.

UNFAVORABLE TURN OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND.

It was not long before things seemed to take a more unfavorable turn in England, in respect to America. The friends of the colonies who had succeeded in securing and retaining a controlling influence long enough to effect the repeal of the act, soon began to lose ground again. There were changes in the ministry which brought men of the other party into power. When the danger, too, resulting from the disturbances in the colonies, and the interruption to the commerce of the London merchants had passed away, a great many persons, who had been aroused to action while the crisis continued, retired again, now that it was past, and left the field to the others, who thus soon found their party strong enough to begin to plan new measures for bringing the refractory colonies to a proper state of subjection to the government at home.

DISPUTE ABOUT THE DAMAGES.

One of the first questions which led to a renewal

of the ill feeling, was the question about the damages to be paid for the mischief done by the rioters. Hutchinson and the others whose houses and property had been destroyed, petitioned the home government to require the colonists to make good their losses. In consequence of this, the minister in charge of the colonial affairs wrote a circular letter to all the governors of the colonies, in which, after expatiating in very imposing language upon "the lenity, the moderation and the forbearance," which parliament had displayed toward the colonies in all its late dealings with them, and the obligations the colonists were under to show "their respectful gratitude and cheerful obedience in return for such a signal display of indulgence and affection," directed that by order of parliament all those persons who had been injured in any way, by the populace, in consequence of their agency in respect to the stamp act, should be fully compensated by the several colonies in which the disturbances had occurred.

Of course, the several governors transmitted this circular to the legislatures of their respective colonies. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, accompanied it with a very urgent call to the assembly to make an immediate grant for this purpose.

The assembly resented so keenly the haughty

and dictatorial tone which the governor assumed in this communication, that they voted at first that they would not make any grant, but would endeavor to ascertain who the persons were that had committed the mischief, and compel *them* to pay the damage. This led to another angry communication from the governor, and at length, after a good deal of delay, and many sharp communications between the parties, the assembly finally voted to make compensation for the damage, but at the same time they passed a bill of complete indemnity for all who had been concerned in the riots. They seemed to consider it just that if a government failed to protect its subjects or citizens from lawless violence, they ought to make good the loss—but that if they did so, they had a right to shield the men who caused it, under the impulse of an honest though mistaken patriotism, from being molested for the offence. They were not willing to gratify the losers by allowing them the double atonement of recovering from the community the amount of the damage done, and punishing the actors for doing it.

RENEWED ATTEMPT TO TAX THE COLONISTS.

The British government waited about a year before renewing the attempt to tax the colonists

They seemed to have hoped that by the lapse of a little time the excitement would subside. But it did not subside. The colonists were vigilant, and felt the necessity of being on their guard. They kept up a recollection of the stamp act quarrel by speeches, writings in the newspapers, and celebrations of various kinds, by means of which, they not only commemorated the triumph they had already achieved, but also kept the spirit of resistance alive in the minds of the people, and made them always ready for a new contest, whenever the occasion should arise.

The occasion was not long deferred. In a little more than a year from the time that the stamp act was repealed, a law was passed in parliament laying an external or customs tax, upon five articles which it was supposed were so essential to the wants of the colonists, that the people could not possibly dispense with the use of them, and were, at the same time, so exclusively of foreign production, that they could not furnish them, nor obtain substitutes for them at home.

These five articles were *glass, lead, paints, paper and tea.*

The act taxing these articles was passed in May, 1767. The stamp act had been repealed in the spring of the preceding year.

THE IDEA OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The stamp act, as has been already explained, was of the nature of a *direct* or *internal* tax—that is, it was a tax levied *within the country* on the property or business of the people. In that respect the measure was entirely new, the government having never before attempted any internal taxation in any of the colonies. They had required duties of various kinds to be paid on goods imported, and custom-houses had been established, and custom-house officers appointed, in all the ports, for the collection of the dues. The colonists were accustomed to this, and had made no strenuous objection to it, chiefly because thus far the duties which had been laid on the different kinds of merchandise imported had been intended for the purpose chiefly of regulating the commerce of the colonists, and not for raising a revenue from them. But, by the act now passed, the duties laid were high enough to afford an appreciable amount for revenue, and yet not high enough, as the government supposed, to awaken any very decided opposition. The idea of the government was, that as they had given up the attempt to carry out the scheme of direct taxation, and as the present law only established an assessment on foreign merchandise imported into the country—a

department of legislation which it had been generally admitted in the colonies came fairly within the jurisdiction of parliament—there would be no violent opposition to the proposed plan—especially as the articles in question were objects of prime necessity in all new countries, and were, moreover of such a character, that neither the commodities themselves, nor any substitutes for them could possibly be produced in America.

PREPARATIONS FOR A CONTEST.

The state of public feeling, however, in America was such, and such was the tone and spirit manifested by the different legislatures in the proceedings which took place in them from time to time, and in the writings and speeches of private individuals, that the government thought it best to be prepared. So they sent out some fresh bodies of troops, they appointed a special board of commissioners to superintend the custom-house arrangements, and took other precautions of a similar nature, which they thought must operate to intimidate the colonists, and at any rate would greatly strengthen the hands of the government in a contest, in case any contest should arise.

EFFECT OF THESE MEASURES IN AMERICA.

The various measures adopted by the English

government to prepare for a new contest with the colonies, instead of intimidating and discouraging the Americans, only had the effect of exciting them to a greater spirit of resistance, and to the work of making counter preparations, in order that they themselves might be prepared for the conflict when the time should come. They discussed the questions at issue in the legislatures and in public meetings, and they resisted, step by step, all the efforts made by the English government to strengthen its foothold among them. They made difficulty about providing accommodations for the soldiers sent out. They remonstrated against the new arrangements made for collecting customs, and when, at length, they found that the tax on the five articles of merchandise was really to be laid, they held public meetings, and resolved again to discontinue, as far as possible, all use of British manufactures of every kind. The colony of Massachusetts seems to have taken the lead in these movements, and among the individual men who were most prominent and most powerful in their influence over their countrymen, in respect to the political action of the colonies at this time, were the two patriots whose names became subsequently so celebrated—John Hancock and Samuel Adams.

JOHN HANCOCK.

John Hancock was a young merchant of Boston, being at this time but little more than thirty years old. His father died when he was quite young and he was adopted, as it were, by his uncle, a very wealthy merchant of Boston, who sent him to Harvard College to receive his education, and then took him into business with him. In a few years his uncle died, and left him in possession of a very extensive business and of a very large fortune. All this happened about the time of the commencement of the difficulties between England and the colonies, and in 1767, the time at which the act levying duties on the five articles of merchandise was passed, he was living, in the height of his prosperity, in Boston, and carrying on a very extensive business. His rank and social position in the town were very elevated, and his talents and accomplishments, and other excellent personal qualities, greatly increased the influence which his wealth and position commanded. He occupied, moreover, a very elegant mansion on a hill just out of the town, where he lived magnificently, and in the exercise of a liberal hospitality. He had a great taste for sumptuous entertainments, and for other expensive pleasures. He was, moreover, a very open-hearted and gene-

rous man, giving largely to public charities and to other objects of general interest to the community. In a word, he was a talented, accomplished, elegant and very popular young man, with all the advantages and means of influence which wealth and the most extended business and social connections could give, entirely at his command. If any one by his position in society could have been expected to be a *conservative*, that is, a supporter of the privileges and immunities of existing power, we might have expected that John Hancock would be the man.

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Adams was a man of a very different stamp from this. He was considerably older than Hancock, being at this time about forty-five, and by constitutional temperament he was calm, quiet, sedate, and sometimes austere. He exhibited a degree of sternness and severity of character which was far less attractive in the estimation of mankind than the ardent, impulsive and generous character of Hancock. He was not rich, and he lived in a very plain and simple manner, which contrasted strongly with Hancock's profuse expenditure. If he had been possessed of wealth, it might, perhaps, have made no difference with him in this respect, for he was very strict and rigid in all his ideas of right

and wrong, and everything like self-indulgence and gaiety was entirely foreign to his nature.

He was educated at Harvard College, and had early gone into public life. He had been elected a member of the general assembly a few years before this time, and had at once begun to distinguish himself by his knowledge of public affairs, and by the extraordinary capacity he manifested in the management of them. He soon acquired a great ascendancy in the legislature, was elected to the office of clerk, and placed upon all important committees; and during the period of the excitement in respect to the stamp act, he had exercised great influence in shaping the public policy of the colony, and in the adoption of all the measures aimed at thwarting or resisting the encroachment of the government. In a word, he was at the head of the organized political resistance to the English policy, as Hancock was of that which was manifested in mercantile and business circles, and in social life.

Some time after this period, when the English leaders found out how much the persistence and vigor of the opposition to their measures in America were due to Samuel Adams, they wrote out to Hutchinson, who was then governor of the colony, to inquire why they did not pacify the man by giving him some lucrative office, under the king—

which, it seems, had been the usual way of silencing turbulent malcontents in England. Hutchinson, in reply, said that "Such is the obstinacy and inflexible disposition of the man, that he can never be conciliated by any office or gift whatever."

The names of these two men, strikingly dissimilar as they were in character, and in the species of influence they wielded, became afterward inseparably associated with each other in history, from the fact, that some years later, after the revolution had been fully inaugurated, the British government made these two the only exceptions to an offer of pardon which they tendered to the colonists on condition of their returning to their allegiance. Thus, the government, by setting them apart as the only two rebels whose offences were absolutely unpardonable, placed them on a grand pedestal in the eyes of all coming generations, as the two noblest patriots of the day.

JOHN HANCOCK'S SLOOP LIBERTY.

The conflict between the colonies and the mother country went on, in a teasing, irritating and resultless manner, as already described, until at length, in the summer of 1768, an incident occurred in relation to one of John Hancock's vessels which greatly increased the popular excitement in Boston

though, in this case, it would seem that the colony, or rather the population acting in its behalf, was the party most to be blamed.

It seems that the commissioners of customs, who had been sent out from England to superintend the arrangements of the custom-houses, made new and more stringent rules in respect to the examination of cargoes, and to the exacting in full, and without any abatement, the amount of the duty required. Certain relaxations of the strict letter of the law had always been customary at the colonial ports, so that at length the enjoyment of them had come to be considered by the merchants as a matter of right. The new commissioners, however, in their zeal to bring the colonies into complete subjection, were disposed to put an end to all indulgences, and they refused to make these allowances any more. These led to many remonstrances and complaints, but the first time that any real difficulty resulted, was in the case of a vessel belonging to Hancock—the sloop *Liberty*—which arrived in Boston about this time with a quantity of Madeira wine on board.

The deputy custom-house officer—Thomas Kirk—who came on board to collect the dues, refused to make the customary allowance. Whereupon the captain, with the assistance of the crew, took him down into the cabin and locked him up there, and

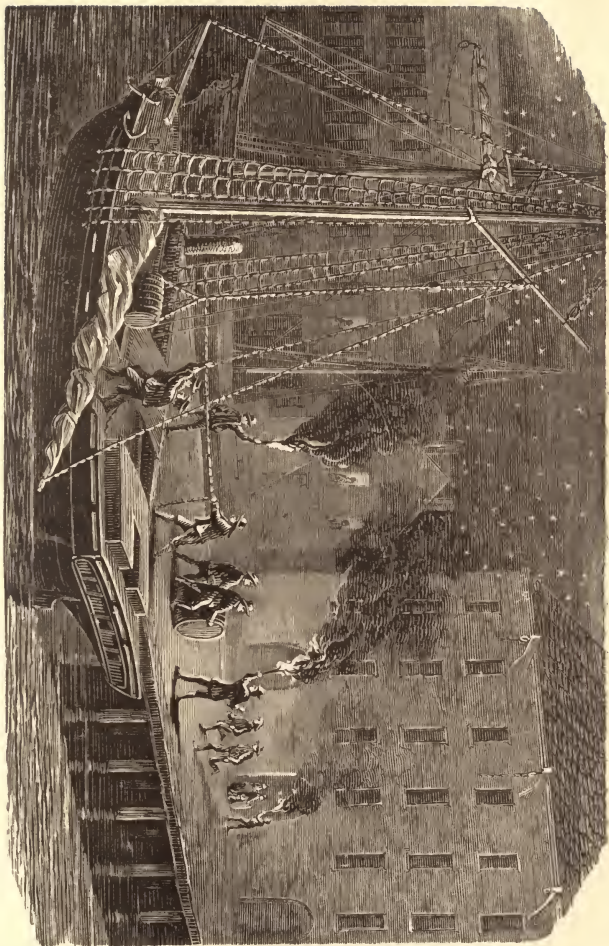
then proceeded, during the night, to put all the wine on shore and store it in the warehouse.

After the wine was all safe on shore, the imprisoned officer was set at liberty.

The next morning, the captain of the sloop proceeded to the custom-house and entered there, in regular form, such a portion of the cargo as he deemed, according to established usage, to be fairly subject to duty. The collector immediately sent down and seized the sloop for a false entry. As fast as news of these proceedings spread about the town, they produced great excitement. Crowds of people collected about the wharf, and the custom-house officers began to fear that they were intending to rescue the sloop from the government authorities by violence. So they cast her off from the wharf, and took her out under the guns of a man-of-war—the Romney—which was lying in the harbor, ready for any emergency of this kind that might occur.

The sight of the sloop lying thus near the Romney, with the guns of the latter pointing toward the town in token of defiance, greatly increased the excitement. The crowds in the street increased, and soon became an angry and uncontrollable mob. They proceeded to the houses of the principal officers of the customs, where they broke the

LANDING OF JOHN HANCOCK'S WINE.



windows, and committed such other acts of violence that the officers fled for their lives. The officers made their escape first to the Romney, and then to Castle William, which was a strong fortress built on one of the islands of the harbor, and garrisoned by English troops. The mob, finding that the men had escaped them, took possession of the collector's boat, and after dragging it through the streets in triumph for some time, they finally made a bonfire of it on the common.

The authorities of the town afterward disavowed and condemned these proceedings, though they claimed that the people were in some sense excusable for their violence on account of the great provocation which the English custom-house officers had given them, by taking away the vessel of one of their leading merchants, and placing her under the guns of a man-of-war in so insulting a manner. They, however, did not justify the riot, and they offered a reward for the detection of the ring-leaders, in order that they might be punished. But, though everybody knew who they were, there was no one found who would inform against them, and so they were never molested.

THE CIRCULAR LETTER OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Besides these conflicts between the people and

the authorities, which were continually breaking out in all the large cities in America during the progress of the quarrel, there occurred, from time to time, more serious, though less violent altercations, between the English government at home and the various legislative assemblies of the colonies. A good example of these official and legislative skirmishings is afforded by the proceedings which took place in relation to what is called in history the Massachusetts circular.

OCCASION OF THE CIRCULAR.

The reader will, perhaps, recollect that in the time of the stamp act, the assembly of Massachusetts issued a call for a convention of delegates chosen by the various colonies to be held in New York, and that this convention was held, and that it passed some important resolutions. This proceeding gave great offence to the English government. A government is always especially alarmed at anything that looks like a combination among those subject to its sway, and the attempt of the colonies to band themselves together in any way, for the purpose of strengthening themselves in their resistance to any measures of the home government, they considered as little better than open treason.

Accordingly, not to give any unnecessary offence

to the home government, the General Assembly of Massachusetts concluded, on the next occasion, which was that of the taxing of the five articles of merchandise as already related, that they would not call a formal convention, but seek the coöperation of the different colonies by means of correspondence, and of concerted though independent action. They accordingly prepared the famous circular, and addressed it to all the colonies.

This circular was expressed in very moderate and cautious language, but it called the attention of the other legislatures very distinctly and decidedly to the persistent attempts of the British ministry and parliament to tax the colonies without their consent, and proposed to them to take such measures as they might think—each colony for itself—best suited to arrest the evil; and in addition to that, they proposed that the several colonies should join in a remonstrance and petition to the king, being assured, they said, “that the united and dutiful supplications of his distressed American subjects would meet with his royal and favorable acceptance.”

It was, however, unfortunately, just the circumstance that these supplications were *united* that tended most decidedly to *prevent* their meeting with his majesty's royal and favorable acceptance.

THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The circular was accompanied with forms of a petition which the Massachusetts colony proposed to send to the king, and other similar documents, in which it is noticeable that the Assembly took care specially to deny that they were actuated by any sentiment of disloyalty to their sovereign, or by any desire to make the colonies independent of the mother country, as their enemies had sometimes alleged. They fully acknowledged the supreme authority of the king over all portions of the empire; all that they claimed was, that in exercising this authority over the colonies, he should allow his subjects in America the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges which are secured by the British constitution to every subject of the realm.

It is probable that at this time there was no distinctly formed design of sundering the connection between the colonies and the mother country, but the allusion to such a design in the circular, or in the papers accompanying it, shows that the possibility that such might be the result, was entertained even at this early period—nearly eight years before the Declaration of Independence was finally made.

DISPLEASURE OF THE MINISTRY WITH THE CIRCULAR.

The English ministry were greatly displeased with the legislature of Massachusetts for issuing this circular. A period of two or three months was required in those days for a voyage across the Atlantic and the return, and very soon after the expiration of that time, a communication came to the governor of Massachusetts from the English minister denouncing the action of the assembly in the strongest terms. He was sure, he said, that such a proceeding could not be the free and deliberate act of the assembly. The vote must have been obtained by surprise, or by other improper means, and he directed the governor to make known immediately to the assembly the strong feeling of displeasure with which "that rash and hasty transaction" was regarded by the government at home, and requiring them immediately to rescind it.

At the same time the minister sent communications to all the other colonies, saying that the measure proposed by the Massachusetts assembly was regarded by his majesty as of the most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of his good subjects in the colonies, and promote an unwarrantable combination, and to exhibit an open opposition to, and denial of, the

authority of the parliament, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution.

The message of the governor calling upon the assembly of Massachusetts to rescind the action connected with the circular letter, was laid before them in the midst of the excitement produced by the seizure of Hancock's vessel. This was, however, a new assembly, inasmuch as the former one, that is, the one of the preceding winter which had adopted the measure in question, had expired, and a new one had been elected. This new assembly was now required by the message to rescind what had been done, on penalty of dissolution.

The governor had power at any time to dissolve an assembly, if he considered it contumacious or unmanageable, in which case the members of course lost their places, and the country was called upon to proceed to a new election. The dissolution of a legislative body involves thus for all the members of it the loss of their places, and sends them, every one back to private life, and to new elections, in which all the influence of the government will always be employed in preventing them from being chosen again. Thus the threat on the part of the governor to dissolve the assembly was virtually a threat to punish the members, individually, if they refused to comply with his demands.

DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF MASSACHUSETTS ON THE
QUESTION OF RESCINDING.

Notwithstanding this threat, the assembly most promptly and decidedly refused to rescind anything. Some of the speakers assumed quite a tone of defiance against the government at home. One of them, James Otis, said in his speech, that instead of calling upon Massachusetts to rescind her measures, the minister would do better to call upon parliament to rescind theirs—for if Great Britain, he declared, did not soon abandon her attempts to assume unlawful authority and control over the colonies, she would soon find them lost to her forever.

Several of the members, moreover, who had voted against the circular letter, at the time of its passage, now voted against rescinding it, declaring that they would not submit even to royal dictation, in the discharge of their legislative functions.

ADDRESS TO THE MINISTRY ACCOMPANYING THE REFUSAL TO
RESCIND.

The assembly, moreover, adopted an address to be sent to the ministry, accompanying their refusal to rescind, in which address they stated that the measure of the circular letter, instead of having

been hurried through the assembly, or obtained by surprise, was adopted in the middle of the session, and in the most deliberate manner, after full discussion ; that it was, moreover, the act of a former assembly, which had fulfilled its functions and ceased to exist. It was now quite incomprehensible to them, they said, how the ministry could call upon them to rescind it, since it was an act that did not relate to something yet to be done, and the farther progress of which might be arrested, but to a measure already fully executed, and carried into complete effect.

“ If, however,” the letter added, “ we are to understand by rescinding, the minister meant passing a vote in disavowal and disapproval of the act, as ‘ illegal, inflammatory and tending to excite unjustifiable combinations against his majesty’s peace, crown and dignity,’ then we must take the liberty to testify and publicly to declare, that we hold it to be the native, inherent and indefeasible right of the subjects, *jointly* or severally, to petition the king for a redress of grievances, provided that the same be done in a decent, dutiful, loyal and constitutional way, without tumult, disorder and confusion. If the votes of this house are to be controlled by a minister, we have left to us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to

inform you, that this house have voted *not* to rescind, and that on a division on the question, there were ninety-two nays and seventeen yeas."

Language like this from representatives of the people to a British governor, the direct depository and embodiment of royal prerogative and power, was something wholly unheard of and unknown in British history. There had been, it is true, various discussions and disputes previous to this time, between the king and his humble commons, as the representatives of the people in parliament usually styled themselves; but in all these controversies the subjects had always assumed a very submissive and supplicating tone, and always seemed to approach the power of the crown in the attitude rather of petitioners begging for forbearance and grace, than of men claiming their rights, and prepared to meet in a hostile and defiant spirit all threatened encroachments upon them.

I refer here only to the tone and language which the commons had been accustomed to use in their contests with the crown, for in respect to *measures*, they often acted in a very resolute and vigorous manner.

PUBLIC OPINION IN BOSTON ON THE QUESTION OF RESCINDING.

The Massachusetts assembly, in order to make

their refusal to rescind the more open and defiant, ordered lists of the voters to be printed and circulated through the town. This was also in order, as they said, that the people might know their friends. The list of the nays was received everywhere with applause and demonstrations of honor, while the names of the yeas, that is, of those who voted to rescind, were written out on a great placard, and paraded through the streets with outcries and hootings, and other tokens of contempt and derision. These voters were designated for a long time afterward as the seventeen rescinders.

The governor immediately dissolved the assembly. The people in all the principal towns then held public meetings, and passed resolutions denouncing the governor as a traitor and an enemy of his country.

CHAPTER V.

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

EFFECT OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

OF course, the members of the assembly, when the governor's proclamation dissolving the body was communicated to them, became at once so many private individuals, and for them to have attempted to go on with the transaction of public business would have been open rebellion, and would have legally subjected every one of them so acting to all the pains and penalties of treason. There was nothing for the assembly to do, but to acquiesce in the dissolution and retire to their homes in the various towns and villages of the colony. They carried with them, however, their report of what had been done, and spread everywhere among their constituents the eager spirit of resistance to the measures of the ministry which had been awakened among themselves by their debates, and by the exciting occurrences in which they had taken a part.

Nearly a year would elapse before the governor

would be obliged, according to the charter of the colony, to issue the call for a new assembly. It was understood that he had declared that he would not call a new assembly before that time. Consequently, if things were allowed to take their usual course, the colony would be, during all that time, without any means of general or concerted action.

A CONVENTION CALLED.

Under these circumstances, the people of Boston conceived the idea of calling a convention, though they must have known very well that such a measure would have greatly increased the anger and exasperation of the royal government. Possibly this very circumstance may have been considered by many of them an additional reason in favor of the measure.

The immediate occasion of the calling of this convention was as follows. The whole military force in the colonies at this time was under the command of General Gage, who afterward took a very prominent part in the events connected with the revolution. General Gage's headquarters were at New York, and not long after the dissolution of the assembly, he sent one of his aids to Boston, to inform the authorities of the town that he expected soon an additional body of troops to arrive there,

and to call upon the town to provide quarters for them.

The selectmen,* not feeling disposed to take the responsibility of deciding such a question as this, called a town meeting, and the meeting voted promptly that they would not provide quarters for the troops. There was room enough for them, they alleged, in the castle, which, as has already been mentioned, was a strong fortress built on one of the islands in the harbor, and it was there that they properly belonged. They, moreover, sent a message to the governor, requesting him to issue orders for the election of a new assembly in place of the one he had dissolved. The governor refused to do it. The meeting then decided to send out a circular to all the other towns and villages in the colony, proposing to the people to send delegates to a *convention*, to be assembled in Boston for the purpose of consulting on the alarming condition of public affairs, and considering what was to be done.

The plan thus proposed was carried into effect. In due time the delegates were chosen, and in the month of September the convention assembled.

* It has always been the usage in the towns of New England to commit the executive business of the town to a board of three men, chosen annually for this purpose, and called the selectmen.

This looked very much like a first step on the part of the people toward establishing in some sense a government of their own, independent of the king, and in contravention of the charter of the colony; for the charter expressly provided the mode in which the legislative body should be constituted, and made its duration depend upon the will of the body. The governor, therefore, and the ministry in England, as soon as news arrived there of these proceedings, declared that the calling of the convention was a treasonable act. The colonists replied, that the convention which they had called was not intended to exercise any legislative functions at all. They did not claim, nor would they attempt to exercise, any political power whatever. It was only a meeting, they said, of private persons, chosen by direction of the municipal authorities of the towns, it was true, but still only an assembly of private persons, who, having the confidence of their fellow-citizens, met to consult together and consider what was best to be done. There certainly could be no treason in that.

ACTION OF THE CONVENTION.

The convention acted strictly in accordance with this view. They did not claim to be a legislative body in any sense, nor attempt to do anything but

to pass resolutions and offer petitions. In the resolutions they declared that they were loyal and faithful subjects of the king, that they did not intend any factious opposition to his government, that they were opposed to all riots, and to popular tumults and disorders of every kind. They would do all in their power to suppress every attempt to resist the law by violent means, and they, moreover, strongly recommended patience and good order to their countrymen. All they wished was to adopt peaceable means for preserving for themselves and their descendants, the secure enjoyment of those indefeasible rights which the British constitution vested in every subject of the crown.

They also drew up two petitions. One was addressed to the governor of the colony, and the other to the king.

REJECTION OF THE TWO PETITIONS.

The governor at once refused to receive the petition when it was presented to him. He would not recognize the convention, he said, in any way, nor acknowledge it as a legitimate assemblage, but sent back by the messengers his advice to the members composing it, that they should desist from the dangerous and criminal course that they were pursuing. The convention paid no attention to this advice, but

proceeded to finish their business of preparing also a memorial to be presented to the king, and then adjourned.

When the memorial of the convention which was intended for the king reached England, the ministers, in the same manner, refused to receive it or to present it to his majesty. They brought the subject up in parliament, however, and the house of lords at once passed resolutions condemning the conduct of the people of Massachusetts in the strongest manner, and declaring that the election of deputies to a popular convention, and the assembling of such a convention, were daring insults offered to his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government, for which it was requisite that the principal actors should be brought to condign and exemplary punishment.

When these resolutions were brought into the house of commons, they were vehemently resisted there, by some very able men who defended the conduct of the Americans, and condemned in the strongest terms the course which the mother country was pursuing in respect to them. Still they were passed, a large majority being in their favor, and an address was sent to the king approving fully the course which his majesty's government had thus far pursued in respect to the colonies, and

praying him to cause the principal leaders in the late treasonable transactions which had taken place in Massachusetts to be arrested and conveyed to England, in order to be there brought to trial.

ARRIVAL OF TROOPS.

A few days after the convention adjourned, the political excitement which prevailed in the town of Boston was vastly increased by the appearance of a fleet of six or seven armed vessels in the harbor, with two regiments of British troops on board. This force had been sent to Boston from Halifax, in answer to urgent calls which it afterward appeared had been made by Bernard, the governor of the province, and other persons in high office there, who, in their communication to the ministry in England, had represented to them that the boldness and turbulence of the popular leaders was increasing every day, and that it was absolutely necessary to send there a strong military force to overawe this rising spirit of sedition. The ministers had accordingly sent orders that such a force should be dispatched from Halifax, and it now arrived.

LANDING OF THE TROOPS.

The vessels sailed up the harbor till they came near the town, and there deliberately took positions

to command it with their guns. After other preparations had been made, the troops were landed—some of the vessels having been first placed in such positions that their guns commanded the landing-place, and everything was made ready for firing upon any persons who might assemble there and attempt to prevent the troops from coming on shore.

The force consisted of about seven hundred men. They were to be brought from the vessels in boats to the landing stairs at the end of Long Wharf, a wooden pier extending out to a great distance from the land toward deep water. A truck was placed across the wharf, at some distance from the end, to keep off the crowd, with sentinels placed there to guard the passage.

The troops, in coming to the shore, brought with them a train of artillery, consisting of two field pieces. The men had their guns loaded and their bayonets fixed, and as fast as they reached the shore they were formed in array, as if they were landing in the country of an enemy. Then with drums beating and colors flying, they were marched through the streets to the great common, in what was at that time the outskirts of the town, and there encamped.

QUESTION OF QUARTERS.

The governor now sent a communication to the selectmen of the town, informing them that a body of his troops had arrived, and directed them to provide suitable quarters for their accommodation. The selectmen refused to do so. There was the castle, which was in the hands of the military authorities, they said, and entirely at their disposal, and there was ample room in it for the accommodation of the troops. The law was, moreover, that no troops were to be quartered in the town until after all the available space in the forts was filled. To this the governor replied that the quarters remaining unoccupied in the castle were reserved for some other troops which were expected, having been already engaged for them, and so must be considered as filled. The town was, therefore, legally bound to provide accommodations for those that had now arrived. The selectmen, however, still refused to make any provisions for the soldiers.

VIEWS OF THE GOVERNOR.

The reason why the governor was not willing to send the troops to the castle, was not because the quarters there were previously engaged, but because he wished to make an imposing military display in

the streets of the town, and to have the troops there close at hand, in order to intimidate and overawe the inhabitants. Indeed, it is supposed that the government sought a collision with the people thinking that if they could provoke them to anything like open resistance to their authority, they could at once raise the cry of rebellion and treason, and proceed to take most vigorous military measures for reducing the province to submission, which, so long as the people confined themselves to lawful and peaceable means of resistance, they were in some measure precluded from doing. For if the authorities in America were to proceed in any aggressive manner, against the colonies and without the excuse of any open and violent resistance to the laws, then the party in England which was inclined to defend the cause of the Americans would be greatly increased and strengthened, and the ministry might be overthrown. It was extremely important, therefore, so to manage the affair, as that the contest, if a contest was to come, should be brought on by some act of the people or authorities of the town, which should seem to justify the vigorous measures which the governor was eager to adopt, but which he did not dare to adopt without some plausible excuse. He was very willing, however, it is said, by an ostentatious parade of his

military force, and by haughty and peremptory demands upon the authorities and people of the town, to give them provocation.

He would, however, probably not have been willing to admit, even to himself, that he wished to incite the people to resistance, but only considered that he had borne with their mutinous and rebellious spirit long enough, and now that he was at length provided with a force sufficient to reduce them to submission, he wished to let them see that he was in earnest, and that they were in his power ; and that if they had really entertained any disposition to resist him, he was perfectly willing that they should make the attempt.

So he would not send the troops to the castle, but landing them under the protection of the guns of the ships, and marching them through the town to the common he encamped them there, and then proceeded to demand of the town that they should provide proper quarters for them, as has already been related.

THE MANUFACTORY HOUSE.

This demand on the part of the governor that the town should provide quarters for the troops, and the refusal of the authorities to do so, led to various negotiations, in the course of which many

curious incidents occurred. It happened that there was at that time in Boston a large building which, for some reason or other, went by the name of the Manufactory House. The building had been let out in apartments to persons of humble station in life, and was now occupied by them ; but, as it belonged to the province, and not to any private individual, the governor claimed that it might be assigned to the use of the troops, and one of the regiments was marched to it, and drawn up before it, and the tenants were ordered to withdraw. Of course, a great crowd of spectators had assembled, and among them were some of the principal inhabitants of the town, and they advised the people in the house not to go, but to wait until they were forcibly dispossessed. So the families remained, and the military officers, unwilling to take the first step in the resort to violence, after remaining for some time near the spot, marched the men away.

A COMPROMISE.

Finally, however, before night closed in, the difficulty was in a measure compromised, by the consent which was given on the part of the authorities that Faneuil Hall, a large public hall, which has since acquired great celebrity, on account of the important public meetings which have been held

in it from time to time, might be occupied by one of the regiments, which, as it happened, was not provided with camp equipage, and that the other should pitch their tents on the Common.

Faneuil Hall proved to be not sufficient for the whole number that were not provided with tents, and so the governor took it upon himself to open the town-house to them, on the ground that the town-house, being also used for the meetings of the general assembly, might be considered as pertaining to the province in some sense, and so under his control as governor.

This town-house was the old building standing at the head of what is now State Street, but which was then called King Street. It seems that the upper stories contained the rooms occupied by the assembly, the lower part forming an open hall, which was used by the merchants as an exchange. The whole building was given up to the use of the soldiers except one room, which had been appropriated to the governor himself for the meetings of his council, and this was reserved.

GREAT EXCITEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING DAY.

It was on Saturday—October 1, 1768—that the troops were landed. The various negotiations and arrangements described in the last paragraph, occu-

pied all Saturday night and the greater part of Sunday. During Sunday the streets were filled with the soldiers marching to and fro, and the usual quiet of the sacred day was entirely destroyed. It happened that one of the principal meeting-houses—as the churches were then called—was situated directly opposite to the town-house, and the devotions of the congregation during the hours of service were greatly interrupted by the martial sounds in the streets. The officers in command of the troops made no effort to mitigate the difficulty by avoiding unnecessary movements and noise, but seemed rather to take pleasure in aggravating the annoyance which their presence occasioned, as if they enjoyed the idea of parading their power, and domineering over a people who they knew hated them, but were utterly powerless to resist them.

THE EXCITEMENT CONTINUES.

On Monday, the excitement of the people increased instead of diminishing. The merchants, when they came to the street, in business hours, found their exchange filled with soldiers—while guards stationed at the doors, with insolent looks and demeanor forbade their entrance. Troops were drawn up in different parts of the street, and the cannon were planted so as to command all the ap-

proaches. Sentinels were stationed, too, in different parts of the town, and the people were summoned by them as they went peaceably to and fro, engaged in their ordinary pursuits. All these things greatly incensed the people, and fanned the increasing flame.

INTERPOSITION OF GENERAL GAGE.

The contest between the governor and the military authorities on one side, and the people of Boston on the other, in respect to quarters for the troops, was continued for some days. General Gage himself came on from New York to see what he could do toward arranging the difficulty. But he was no more successful than Governor Bernard had been, and at length, finding that the selectmen and the people of the town were resolute, and determined not to yield, he yielded himself, and hired a number of buildings sufficient for the purpose required, paying for them from his own military fund.

After this the excitement in some degree subsided. Still, as the Common—which was a general play-ground and place of recreation for the town—was covered with tents and guarded by sentinels, and as companies of soldiers were continually to be seen marching to and fro about the streets, from

one to another of the different buildings in which the troops had been quartered, the source of irritation was continually kept open, and little collisions were frequently taking place between individual soldiers and the rude boys and other reckless persons encountered by them in the streets. The evil was increased in some measure by the peculiarly conspicuous style of uniform which the British soldiers wore, the color being a scarlet of so bright a hue as to arrest the eye of the spectator as far off as it could be seen, and to make a body of men wearing it stand out to the view in as marked a contrast as possible with the quietly-dressed townspeople around them.

There was an eccentric minister living in Boston at this time, named Matthew Byles. He was quite celebrated for his jokes and comic sayings of all kinds. One of his jokes related to these red-coated soldiers. He was walking with some of his friends when a company of the soldiers were marching by. "There," said he, "you have been a long time complaining of your grievances, and now, at last, you have got them red-dressed."

THE OFFICERS ATTEMPT TO CONCILIATE THE LADIES.

After the lapse of some weeks or months spent in this way, the military men began to feel some-

what uncomfortable in their position—being shunned and avoided by the whole community, and looked upon with aversion and dislike as unwelcome intruders, if not as enemies. The officers finally attempted to conciliate the upper classes at least of the society of Boston, by giving a series of balls, parties, concerts and other social entertainments. They tried this plan faithfully for some time, but it did not succeed. There was a small circle of polite society, consisting of the families of the governor, the commissioners of the customs, the judges and some other official personages, whose places depended upon the king or upon the ministry in England, and whose sympathies were, consequently, all on the side of the military; but beyond this circle, the officers could not induce any of the ladies of consideration and influence to accept their invitations.

BURNING OF THE JAIL.

There was one occasion, however, in which the soldiers really rendered an important service to the community—which was the only benefit, as some of the writers of the day alleged, that resulted from the measure of sending them to Boston—and that was on the occurrence of the accidental burning of the jail in the night, by which multitudes of the

prisoners would have been burnt to death, had it not been for the very efficient aid which some of the soldiers rendered in rescuing them.

It was on the thirtieth of January—mid-winter—that the fire took place. The first alarm in the town arose from the people in the houses next to the jail being awakened by a great noise and commotion within the walls, accompanied by cries of fire. The external walls of the jail were of stone, but the inner partitions were of wood, strengthened and bound with iron bars and bolts. Before the people could collect, the inside of the building was all on fire. The outer door was soon opened, but, in the confusion, the keys of the rooms and passages could not be found. The people tried to cut through the doors and partitions with axes, or to pry them open with crowbars, but everything had been so reënforced with iron that it was almost impossible to get the prisoners out. Still the people persevered, some toiling incessantly at the work of battering down and breaking through the interior partitions to rescue the prisoners, while the rest were fighting the fire.

Many of the soldiers assisted very effectively at the fire, though at first the people declined their aid, thinking, perhaps, that they could subdue the fire themselves. When, however, they found it

growing very serious, they were glad to receive assistance. Some of the military men evinced a great deal of daring in the contest with the fire, and rendered great service both in rescuing the prisoners and in preventing the fire from extending. One of the captains—Captain Wilson—particularly distinguished himself. The commodore who commanded the fleet was present, and many of the other officers from the ships came. The sailors, too, brought an engine on shore from the Romney to play upon the fire.

As soon as the prisoners were rescued, the authorities of the town applied to the commander of the troops to send a small body of soldiers to guard them, until some other suitable arrangements could be made for them, and he did so. This was almost the only instance in which any friendly intercourse or coöperation took place between the authorities of the town and the English soldiers during all the time that they remained quartered in Boston.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF CUSTOMS.

The five commissioners of customs, who, as has already been stated, were sent out some time previous to this, to superintend the collection of the revenue in Boston, and who had fled from the town

to seek refuge on board the Romney, and afterward in the castle, at the time of the difficulty in respect to John Hancock's sloop, returned to town when the soldiers came, and assumed there a more lofty and imperious tone than ever. They lived in a very aristocratic and lordly style, made themselves quite inaccessible to those who desired from time to time to communicate with them—and seemed to entertain a feeling of contempt and hostility to the people of the province. They attempted, by their haughty and overbearing demeanor, to put down all who were suspected of being opposed to the measures of the government. At one time they dismissed a man from his office in the customs on account of a vote which he gave in the assembly. They wrote home to the ministry denouncing many of the most prominent men in Boston as rebels and traitors. Among others whom they thus denounced was James Otis, one of the most prominent and influential men in Boston at that day.

JAMES OTIS.

James Otis was an eminent lawyer, and a man of great personal and political influence in the town. He was, however, a man of very ardent temperament, and he had assumed quite a prominent part on the side of the province, in the discussions which

had taken place in respect to the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and to that of the king to quarter troops upon them. In their letters home, the commissioners had denounced Otis, among others, as a rebel and traitor, who was aiming at producing a revolt of the colonies, and the dismemberment of the empire. These letters were afterward published, and in due time they came to Otis's knowledge. They filled his soul with indignation and rage.

OTIS'S IDEA OF HIS POSITION IN A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW.

Otis considered it gross and malicious slander to accuse him of treason and rebellion. Neither he nor any of his compatriots, so far as we can judge from any evidence now attainable, had at this time any intention or even any wish to separate the colonies from the mother country. In their opposition to the measures of the government they considered themselves as acting entirely within the limits of their rights as British subjects, and as occupying precisely the same position as other British subjects in England had often done in their resistance to the encroachments of the crown on the liberties of the people. The simple question at issue between the government and the colonies—and this was strictly and purely a question of constitutional law—was

whether the colonial legislatures were to be regarded as standing in the same relation to the people of the colonies, as the English parliament did to the people at home. At home, the people had a body of representatives chosen by themselves, who were the constitutional guardians and defenders of their rights and liberties, against the encroachments of power. The colonists claimed that *their* representatives should exercise the same functions for them, and this the ministers of the king refused—they claiming that the home legislature was intrusted with this duty for the whole empire—for those who were not, as well as for those who were, directly represented in it.

This was the whole question in dispute. This being once settled, everything was settled; for it was an established principle of the British constitution, that the people of England could not be taxed, nor could any troops be organized and quartered in the kingdom, except by the consent of parliament previously obtained; and if the colonial legislatures sustained the same relation to the people of the colonies that parliament did to the people of England, then the taxing of the colonies and quartering troops upon them was illegal, for the consent of the legislatures had not been given. If, on the other hand, the colonial legislature did not sustain this

relation, but if parliament was to be considered as the guardian of the rights and liberties of the whole empire—then the taxing of the colonies, and the sending of troops among them was legal, for the English parliament had given its consent to these measures.

Thus the question at issue was truly a legal one, and one on which loyal men might honestly differ, and lawfully discuss in any peaceable way; and the fact that any man took the opposite ground upon it from that occupied by his majesty's ministers for the time being, by no means made him a rebel and a traitor, however, strenuously he might urge his opinion. It is not surprising, therefore, that Otis and the others thus accused felt extremely indignant at having such charges made against them.

OTIS ADVERTISES THE COMMISSIONERS.

One morning—it was on the Fourth of July, 1769—about a year after the arrival of the troops in Boston, the following advertisement appeared in the Boston Gazette, signed by Otis's name in full.

ADVERTISEMENT.

“Whereas, I have full evidence that Henry Hutton, Charles Paxton, William Burch and John

Robinson, Esquires"—these were the names of the four commissioners of customs—"have frequently and lately treated the characters of all true Americans in a manner that is not to be endured, by privately and publicly representing them as traitors and rebels, and in a general combination to revolt against Great Britain, and whereas the said Henry, Charles, William and John, without the least provocation or color, have represented me by name as inimical to the rights of the crown, and disaffected to his majesty, to whom I annually swear, and am determined at all events to bear true and faithful allegiance; for all which general as well as personal abuse and insult satisfaction has been personally demanded and due warning given, but no sufficient answer obtained, these are humbly to desire the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his principal secretaries of state, particularly my Lord Hillsboro'"—these were the principal ministers of the crown in England that were connected with the management of colonial affairs—"and all others whom it may concern, or who may condescend to read this, to pay no kind of regard to any of the abusive representations of me or of my country, that may be transmitted by the said Henry Charles, William and John or their confederates; for they are no more worthy of credit than those of Sir

Francis Bernard, of Nettleham, Bart., or any of his cabal ; which cabal may be well known from the papers in the house of commons, and at every great office in England.

JAMES OTIS."

SIR FRANCIS BERNARD, OF NETTLEHAM, BART.

This Sir Francis Bernard, of Nettleham, Bart., of whom Otis speaks thus contemptuously as a man so notoriously unworthy of confidence or credit, was the governor of the province, of whom mention has been frequently made in the preceding pages. He was, however, not now any longer in office. He had become an object of such universal dislike and hostility in Massachusetts by his resolute persistence in his efforts to bring the province to submission, and by his haughty and overbearing demeanor, that he had been recalled, and Hutchinson, who had hitherto been lieutenant-governor, had been appointed to his place. Before recalling him, however, the ministry, in order to reward him for his zeal, and enable him to leave Boston in a species of triumph, had made him a baronet, and Otis, in his advertisement, gives him his title in full, and in a contemptuous and sarcastic manner.

ANGER OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The commissioners, on finding themselves th

insultingly posted in the public papers, considered it their turn to be filled with indignation and rage. The affair, of course, was the subject of a great deal of excitement during the day of the publication, and in the evening there resulted from it a personal collision between one of the commissioners and Mr. Otis. Mr. Otis went into a coffee-room in King Street, which stood where the Massachusetts Bank now stands, in the present State Street—and there, as it happened, he found Robinson, one of the commissioners, seated in company with a number of his friends. Robinson at once assailed Otis with opprobrious language, and undertook to pull his nose. On Otis's attempting to defend himself, Robinson began belaboring him with his cane, and a violent and protracted scuffle ensued. One of Otis's friends passing by at the time, rushed in and attempted to protect him, but he was but one among a large number, and could do nothing. After a while, however, the combatants were separated, and Otis was carried home, wounded, bleeding and very seriously injured.

Exactly what happened at this affray could never be precisely ascertained, as the persons present were all Robinson's friends, and they did all in their power to withhold evidence. Several stout sticks, really clubs, though in the form of canes,

were found upon the floor after Otis was carried away, and also a scabbard of a sword. Otis had a deep wound in his head, too, which the surgeons said must have been made by some sharp instrument

RESULTS OF THE ASSAULT UPON OTIS.

This affair, of course, produced an intense excitement throughout the whole town. People naturally took sides according to their political predilections, the British party all justifying Robinson, and declaring that Otis had received only what he deserved, while the people of the province universally took part with Otis, and were aroused to a greater pitch of anger and resentment against the commissioners, and against the whole array of British influence in the colony than ever.

It was charged, and generally believed, that Robinson and his friends intended to assassinate Mr. Otis, and that they waylaid him in the coffee-house for this end. He was, indeed, very seriously wounded. The gash in his head was very long in being healed, and when it was healed, it left a depression in which it was said a person might lay his finger. His mind, too, became afterward very seriously affected, and this was attributed by many persons, in a great measure, to the injuries which he had received.

THE ACTION FOR DAMAGES.

Otis brought an action against Robinson in the courts, for assault and battery. The cause was protracted for some time, but it was finally decided in 1770. Robinson was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a sum equal to ten thousand dollars, in atonement for the injury which he had done. Otis, however, declined receiving this money, on the ground that his only motive for bringing the case before the courts was to establish legally, and to the satisfaction of the whole country, that Robinson was the aggressor. He offered, therefore, if Robinson, by his counsel—for he himself had left the country and returned to England before the case was decided—would acknowledge his fault, and make proper apologies, to release him from all obligation to pay this money—which for those days was quite a large sum.

To this the counsel agreed, and he signed an acknowledgement in Robinson's name, fully admitting that he was the aggressor in the assault committed—that it was commenced “by his presumptuously attempting to take the said James Otis by the nose, and that this was the first assault which occasioned and brought on all the consequent insults, wounds and other injuries whereof the said James

Otis complains. He, the said John Robinson, Esquire, was greatly in fault, is very sorry for his conduct and behavior that night toward the said James Otis, and asks the pardon of the said James Otis."

Thus the affair, so far as it was a personal matter between Otis and the commissioner, was at length amicably settled, but in respect to its influence upon public sentiment in widening the breach between the people of the colony and the government of the mother country, it was never settled. For the breach which it helped so effectually to widen was never closed.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE AND SOUTHERN COLONIES.

OPPOSITION TO THE MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT GENERAL THROUGHOUT ALL THE COLONIES.

IN tracing the history of the separation of the American colonies from the mother country, our attention has been mainly occupied thus far by what took place in Boston. This is owing to the fact that it was in the province of Massachusetts, and more particularly in the old town of Boston, that the opposition to the measures of the British government was first fully and distinctly organized. Thus this province for a time seemed to take the lead ; and then, besides this, the occurrences which took place in Boston were many of them of so personal and dramatic a character, that they have invested the contest, as it was waged there, with a special interest for the readers of history, and this has, perhaps, had the effect to draw to the proceedings in Massachusetts a still greater proportion of attention than they actually deserve. During all the period of which we have been writing in the preceding

chapter, substantially the same contest had been going on between the government of the mother country and several of the other provinces, and the provincial assemblies of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, of Georgia, and of several other colonies, had evinced a strong disposition to join with Massachusetts in resisting what they called the encroachments of the English government upon the rights of the people of America, who, as British subjects, were entitled to the same immunities and privileges as were enjoyed by the English people at home.

ALLEGED TRIVIALNESS OF THE CAUSES OF THE QUARREL.

Those who espoused the cause of the government in this their quarrel with the colonies, were very prone to reproach the people of America with the utter trivialness, as well as unreasonableness, of the complaints which they made.

It is only the question, said they, first of a few cents tax on a small number of commodities, the total amount of which, if allowed to be collected without unnecessary expense and trouble, would be too small to produce any appreciable effect upon the wealth of the colony—and secondly, of the presence of a few hundred troops in the capital, who, if they had been allowed to establish themselves peaceably

there, would not have molested the inhabitants in any way, and would never be called upon for any services except to aid the magistrates in the execution of the laws.

THE TWO GREAT FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLISH LIBERTY.

All this seems sufficiently plausible, but in reality it keeps the real point at issue entirely out of view, which was, whether the two great safeguards for the people against the despotism of kings, which the English had struggled in former times so earnestly to obtain, and which they now held so tenaciously for themselves, were likewise to be enjoyed by their fellow-countrymen in America. These two safeguards, as has been intimated in a former chapter, were these, namely :

First, that the king could raise no money from his realm without the consent and approval of the representatives of the people, both for the amount to be raised and the manner of raising it. And,

Secondly, that he could maintain no troops among them without the same consent and approval.

GENERAL EFFECT OF THESE LIMITATIONS.

It is plain that these two restrictions on the power of the king had the effect of entirely disarming him in respect to any conflict that he might have

with his subjects. By retaining in their hands these powers of furnishing the sovereign with money, and allowing him men, they made him completely dependent upon them, and rendered it utterly impossible for him to tyrannize over them.

Indeed, it is by these provisions that the real difference is established between an absolute and a limited monarchy. In an absolute monarchy, the king's power is in a great measure uncontrolled. In a limited monarchy like that of England, the king holds his power under the restrictions above specified, namely, that he can raise no money from his subjects, nor hold in command any troops among them, except by their own formal and special consent, expressed by the voice of their representatives. Under this system, his majesty may indeed wield great power in administering the government according to the wishes of his subjects, for they may then furnish him with men and money in great abundance ; but in any attempt to tyrannize over them, or to go counter to their wishes in any way, he becomes utterly powerless, for they can at once cut off his supplies, both of money and of men.

PRACTICAL RESULT IN ENGLAND.

The people of England have struggled very perseveringly for many centuries, and waged many

long and sometimes bloody contests with their sovereigns, to get this system into full and complete operation, and it is at length so firmly established, that now for a long period all contests between the crown and the people have entirely ceased. The moment that it appears that a majority of the house of commons are opposed to any system of policy adopted by the government of the king, his majesty never waits to have his supplies actually cut off, but at once gives up the contest, and changes his policy by changing his ministers. No ministry can remain in office a week after their general policy is condemned by a representative body that has power at any moment to cut off the supplies of men and money by which alone the government can be carried on.

INTENTIONS OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IN RESPECT TO AMERICA.

Now both the government and the people of England were agreed that this was the true and proper system to govern the relations between a king and his subjects, nor did any one wish to exempt the colonies in America from the operation of it. No one desired to make the royal power absolute in America, any more than in England, but all agreed that the restrictions upon it above de-

scribed should exist in one case as well as in the other. The only question was, in whose hands the power of exercising this control should be placed. The English maintained that their parliament should hold it for the whole empire, since, though the members were elected only by English voters, the body might be considered as in some sense representing the whole population of the empire. The colonists maintained, on the other hand, that these restrictions on the power of the crown over *them*, should be held by their own direct representatives, that is, by the *colonial legislatures*, and refused to admit that the British parliament was qualified to represent the interests, or to act in the name, of any portion of the empire except the people who had a voice in choosing them.

This was the real question at issue, and the colonists saw, in the attempt to tax them, first by the stamp act and afterward by the duties on the five articles of merchandise, and the quartering of troops among them, without first obtaining the sanction of their own representatives to those measures, only the first occasions on which these great questions came up practically for decision.

ACTION OF VIRGINIA

The various provinces in America which have

since been so closely united as States of the Union, were at this time, it must be remembered, wholly distinct from each other, and the British government deemed it a matter of very great political importance to keep them thus distinct. They accordingly considered any attempt on the part of the different provinces to combine together, or to unite their action in any way, as a high misdemeanor. The colonists themselves were for a time very cautious in respect to any measures which might indicate an attempt to combine their strength. They were obliged to be satisfied with *concurrent*, instead of *combined*, action. The various legislatures, however, of the more southern colonies, each by its own independent measures, began soon to take a decided stand in sustaining Massachusetts in the position she had assumed, of resistance to the pretensions of the English ministers to govern the colonies through the action of parliament, instead of through their own direct representatives. Among these southern colonies Virginia took the lead.

LORD BOTETOURT.

The governor of Virginia at this time was Lord Botetourt. He was an upright, honorable and conscientious man, and seemed to be sincerely interested in promoting the welfare and prosperity of his

colony—with the understanding, however, that the views and intentions of the home government, in respect to the subjection of the colony to the authority of parliament, were sustained and carried into effect. He was, indeed, especially selected for the post of governor of Virginia on account of his possessing many excellent qualities which would be likely to give him great popularity and influence among the colonists, and so greatly increase his power to thwart the rising opposition to the policy of the government in America, and to carry the policy into effect.

ENGLISH IDEAS OF THE DISPLAY OF POMP AND PARADE AS AN
AUXILIARY OF GOVERNMENT.

The English are accustomed to attach much importance to the imposing effect of outward show in impressing upon the people a due sense of the majesty of law. In accordance with this idea, they invest the sovereign with all imaginable symbols of majesty and grandeur, and accompany the proceedings of government, where they come under the direct observation of the people, with ceremonies, and pageants, and displays innumerable. The same principle extends in a degree through all subordinate ranks and departments of government.

The magistrates are escorted to church sometimes

by a guard of officials in antique and grotesque costumes. The dignity of the judges on the bench is sustained by black robes, and great grey wigs, which give to all men alike, the venerable aspect of wisdom, gravity and years. Even the lawyers at the bar wear a characteristic costume, to assist in impressing their clients with a sense of their dignity and importance.

All such things in this country would awaken only a feeling of ridicule. Besides, according to American ideas, it is not desirable to invest the agents of power with any factitious prestige. If a judge, for example, cannot inspire a sufficient respect for his decisions by the actual weight of his character—his justice, his learning, his intrinsic dignity and impartiality—we do not think it worth while to attempt to eke out the deficiency by means of silken robes and a grey wig.

POMP AND PARADE AFFECTED BY LORD BOTETOURT.

Lord Botetourt, notwithstanding his good sense and his other excellent qualities, seems to have entertained the idea of strengthening the impression which he wished to make upon the natives of his province in respect to the majesty and grandeur of the power whose agent and instrument he was, by the pomp and parade which he could display. He

provided himself with a splendid mansion which he called the palace. He affected great state when he appeared in public. He introduced all the forms and ceremonies, in opening the legislative assembly, that are practised in the case of the parliament in England, which, though somewhat tedious and inconvenient, are well enough retained there, since they have come down by regular transmission in that assembly from time immemorial—but which appear ridiculous when introduced anew among such a plain, practical and unpretending body of men as a provincial legislature in a new country. The governor, however, in pursuing this course, only carried out what he knew to be the wish and intention of the government at home. The king himself, when he was coming to America, made him a present of a splendid state coach, and on the opening of the legislature, Lord Botetourt caused himself to be taken to the hall in this coach, drawn by a team of eight milk-white horses, and attended by a gay cavalcade. The people in the street looked curiously upon this pageantry, as it passed, without, however, seeming to be specially overawed by it, while many of the more serious men in the province were much displeased with it.

CONCILIATORY TONE ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNOR IN HIS OPENING MESSAGE.

The governor, in opening the session of the legislature, adopted a very conciliatory tone, and he evinced so cordial a feeling of good will toward the people of the province, and so earnest a desire to promote their prosperity and welfare, that he made an extremely favorable impression upon every one. The assembly, when left to themselves, after receiving the governor's message voted a reply to it, which was of a very respectful and complimentary character. They warmly reciprocated the kind wishes of the governor, and expressed sentiments of firm and faithful loyalty to the king. These civilities having been interchanged, and the session being thus regularly opened, the members set themselves at work in earnest to consider and to act upon the great questions connected with the alarming state of public affairs. The result of their deliberations indicated that neither the imposing show, nor the flattering civilities of the governor, had had the effect of making them swerve from what they considered their duty.

THE VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.

A series of resolutions were brought in, in which all the various points of dispute that had arisen



THE STATE CARRIAGE.

between the home government and the province of Massachusetts were taken up in order, and a position of distinct and decided opposition to the course pursued by the government was assumed in respect to every one of them. These points were the following. The resolutions declared,

1. That the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of the colony of Virginia, was then, and ever had been, legally and constitutionally vested in the *provincial assembly*.

2. That it was lawful for the people of the colonies, at any and at all times, to petition his majesty for a redress of grievances.

3. That in case of any infraction of the rights of any of the colonies, it was the privilege and right of the people thereof to endeavor to procure the *concurrence of his majesty's other colonies* in dutiful addresses, praying the royal interposition in behalf of their violated rights.

4. That all trials for treason, or for any other crime, committed or alleged to have been committed in the colony, ought to be conducted before his majesty's *colonial courts*.

This was in allusion to the intention which had been declared by the British government to cause the chief leaders in the opposition to the government at Boston to be arrested and conveyed to

England, to be tried on the charge of treason there, where they could be under the direct eye of the ministers themselves, and in the hands of courts and juries whose predilections and sympathies would be almost all against them.

The resolution on this fourth point went on to declare, "that the transportation of any person, suspected or accused of any crime whatsoever committed in the colony, for trial in another country, is derogatory to the rights of British subjects, inasmuch as the accused is thereby deprived of the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury of his vicinity, as well as of the power of procuring witnesses at his trial."

These resolutions, after full discussion, were passed unanimously. The assembly also, at the same time, framed an address to the king, in which, while they gave to his majesty strong assurances of loyalty to his crown and attachment to his person, they expressed a deep and firm conviction that the complaints of *all his American subjects* were well founded.

This last expression was likely to be particularly obnoxious to the ministers, for by assuming thus to speak for and in the name of the people of all the colonies, the assembly seemed to take another step toward some general banding together of the people

of America for common and united action in resistance to the government, which the ministers looked upon with abhorrence, as a treasonable conspiracy, and which they dreaded as the source of the greatest danger.

THE GOVERNOR DISSOLVES THE ASSEMBLY.

As soon as the governor was informed of these proceedings, he was much displeased, and not a little alarmed. On the next day after the resolutions were passed, he suddenly presented himself in the hall, and addressed the assembly as follows :

“MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN :

“I have heard of your resolutions and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you. You are dissolved accordingly.”

This act, of course, put a sudden stop to the proceedings of the body ; for, by the fundamental law of the province, the legislature, though the members of it were elected by the people, was only to be convened at the summons of the governor, and the duration of its sessions, and even of its existence, depended wholly on his will.

The legislature obeyed at once the mandate of

the governor. They at once closed the session and left the hall. They, however, proceeded immediately to a private house, and there reorganized, not as a legislative assembly, for they admitted that the governor's decree of dissolution had deprived them of all power to act in that capacity, but only as an association of private citizens. They, however, appointed their late speaker to be the presiding officer of the meeting, under the name of moderator.

This meeting, after some consultation and debate as to the course of proceeding which they should adopt, at length drew up a written agreement, which they all signed, pledging themselves thenceforth not to import, purchase or use any articles of British manufacture. They also caused copies of the agreement to be printed, and made arrangements for sending them to all the towns and villages of the province, in order that they might be signed as extensively as possible by the whole population, and the market for British goods in the province be entirely closed, until the government should abandon their attempts to deprive the people of the colonies of what they deemed to be their constitutional rights.

The governor, though he could by a word dissolve the provincial assembly, had no power in

respect to a meeting of private gentlemen, and so he could not interfere with these proceedings at all—but he was made very indignant by them, and immediately reported the facts to the government at home.

THE EXAMPLE OF VIRGINIA IS FOLLOWED BY ALL THE SOUTHERN COLONIES.

As fast as intelligence of the firm stand which Virginia had taken spread through the country, the excitement of the controversy was greatly increased, and the determination of the people of the different colonies to make common cause in their resistance to the claims of the ministry and of parliament to govern and to tax them from London, was greatly strengthened. The legislatures of the different provinces immediately began to adopt the same measures that the Virginia assembly had initiated. The assembly of South Carolina passed a vote refusing to provide accommodations for British troops, thus formally sustaining Massachusetts in the position which she had taken, and they also passed a series of resolutions, the same substantially as those of Virginia. The Virginia resolutions were also brought into the assemblies of New York, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina and Georgia, and passed in them

all with great unanimity. In North Carolina, the governor, on learning what the assembly had done, at once followed Governor Botetourt's example, and dissolved the body. The members then immediately did as those of the Virginia legislature had done. They reassembled at a private house, as a company of private persons, and passed resolutions binding themselves not to import, purchase or use any goods of British manufacture, and recommending to the people of the province universally to come to the same determination.

The great mass of the people in all the colonies responded very readily to the appeal, and they formed clubs and associations in a great many places, to prevent the use of articles of English manufacture of every kind, and to encourage the production of substitutes for them in America.

A MINORITY OPPOSED TO THESE PROCEEDINGS.

Although the great mass of the people in all the colonies joined at once and very cordially in these measures, there was still quite a large minority, especially in all the great cities, that strongly opposed them. This minority consisted mainly of public officers who held their offices by appointment from the home government, and of wealthy men in the principal cities and towns, who belonged

to the conservative class that are always interested in sustaining any existing power. These persons, of course, resisted the attempt to prevent the introduction of British goods, and declared that they would purchase and use such articles as they pleased, without any regard to the resolutions and edicts of meetings and clubs. So they attempted to go on importing and using the articles as before.

But this produced such a storm of indignation from the community around them, that they soon gave up importing the goods publicly, but attempted to do it by stealth. Then the clubs appointed committees to watch the arrival of every ship, and to ascertain what goods were on board, and to whom they were consigned; and when they ascertained that any persons were importing any of the prohibited articles, they published their names, and thus brought the secret to light.

These proceedings, of course, led to a great deal of difficulty and ill-will. The government officials did all in their power to protect those who wished to continue the importations of British goods, but the community was so nearly unanimous against them, and found so many means of persecuting and annoying them, which it was beyond the reach of the government to arrest, that the dissentients were at length compelled to give up the contest, and in

the end the commerce with England was so nearly cut off that the British merchants and manufacturers began to suffer very severely, and to call upon the government at home not to persist in a policy which was thus depriving them of so many of their best customers. This was precisely the result that the colonists hoped and expected that their action would produce.

THE LOTTERY TICKETS.

Among the other restrictions upon the trade with England which agreements made by the colonists among themselves included, there was one that was quite curious and somewhat characteristic of the times, and that was the trade in lottery tickets. Almost all governments in those days authorized lotteries, and many employed the system directly as a governmental measure, considering it a legitimate mode of raising money for any useful public purpose. The English had drawn a great deal of money from America in this way for tickets sold here—a very considerable portion of the whole number of tickets in the British lotteries having been taken by the people of the provinces. The sale of these tickets was now included in the prohibition to deal in British commodities, and the cutting off of the American market interfered seriously

with the plans and calculations of the managers of the lotteries, and thus added them also to the number of the dissatisfied and complaining at home.

THE PRIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT FORBIDS CONCESSION.

The proceedings of the legislature of Virginia and of the other southern colonies which have been described in this chapter, were taking place during the same period that the difficulties occurred in Massachusetts, as related in the last; and the combined effect of the restrictions on the trade in producing discontent and dissatisfaction among the merchants and manufacturers in England, and in increasing the embarrassment which the government found in dealing with the formidable spirit of resistance which was manifesting itself through all the colonies, finally convinced the government that they would be compelled to yield. They, however, persisted so long, and yielded at last so partially, that they failed to conciliate the colonies, or to do anything effectual toward healing the breach.

It is not surprising that the pride of a government controlled by a haughty aristocracy like that of England, should revolt strongly against being driven to concession by communities of plebeian settlers in the American woods; and if personal as well as national pride had been involved in the

question, that is, if the same men were required to consent to a repeal of the measures, that had been the original enactors of them, it is probable they would never have been repealed. But during all this period, continual changes were taking place in parliament and especially in the ministry—so that new men were called upon to act from time to time, who were not personally responsible for the measures which had produced the difficulty. Still their national, or as, perhaps, it should be called their *governmental* pride was involved, and they evinced a great unwillingness to yield to the pressure. Even when a ministry at last came in that admitted that the policy which had been pursued was wrong, and ought not to have been instituted, yet still, as they maintained, since it had been instituted, and had met with such factious, if not absolutely treasonable, resistance, the government could not without disgrace recede from its ground until all such resistance had ceased.

The colonies, however, on their part, declared that they would not withdraw their measures of resistance until the grievances were actually redressed; and thus for many months the difficulty seemed to be hopelessly locked.

THE GOVERNMENT FINALLY YIELD.

At length, however, the government, finding that the people of the colonies were growing every month more and more resolute and determined in their resistance, and that the difficulties and embarrassments of their position were continually increasing, concluded to yield, or at least to pretend to yield. They gave notice to the various agents of the colonies that were residing in London, that they had determined on complying with the wishes of the colonies, and soon afterward, they sent a circular letter to all the provinces, saying that the ministers had resolved on recommending to parliament at its next session, to repeal the taxes on glass, lead, paper and colors, on the ground of "said duties being laid contrary to the true principles of commerce, and that they entertained no design to propose to parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue."

THE COLONISTS FAR FROM BEING SATISFIED WITH THIS
DECLARATION.

The news of this circular was at first received in the colonies with much joy, but the more prudent and cautious men soon observed that the article of *tea* was not included in the list of those from which

the duty was to be withdrawn, and that the ministry, by the very terms in which they announced their intention to repeal the other taxes, did not at all relinquish their pretended right to tax the colonies, but only proposed for the time being to waive the exercise of the right. Thus, in respect to the real question at issue, no concession was made, and it became the prevalent opinion in America that the government did not intend at all to abandon the ground which they had taken, but only to temporize with the question in order to escape from the present embarrassment, with a view of reasserting their power on some more convenient occasion, when circumstances should perhaps render it more difficult for the colonists to resist. They determined, therefore, not to relax their efforts, and declared, through their legislatures, that they would not return to the purchase and use of British manufactures until the government had repealed *all* the taxes which had been laid by authority of parliament on the people of the colonies.

Things were in this state when an incident occurred in Boston which aroused anew the excitement of all the people of the country, and made it greatly more intense than it had ever been before. This incident was a collision between the military in Boston and some of the people in

the town, in which several persons lost their lives. The affair received by the colonists the name of the Boston Massacre, and the circumstances connected with it will be related in full in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

A MISNOMER.

THE occurrence which forms the subject of this chapter is called here the Boston Massacre, as it is by that name that it is known in history. The affair was, in itself perhaps, of no very great importance, as it was simply a collision between the soldiery and the populace, in the streets of Boston, by which a few not especially valuable lives were lost. And as to the criminality of the deed, the authors of it were afterward nearly all of them acquitted by the colonial courts and juries themselves. The occurrence, however, produced so great and wide-spread an excitement at the time, and contributed so much to arouse the resentment and increase the hostility of the colonies against the mother country, and to hasten the final outbreak, that it has always occupied a very conspicuous place among the events which marked the history of the times.

SCENE OF THE MASSACRE.

The scene of the massacre was what was then King Street, but is now State Street, in Boston. It took place at a short distance below the building which now stands in the middle of the street at the junction of State and Washington Streets. This building, which subsequently became the City Hall, and is now devoted to private uses, was then the State House; and the vicinity of it was the scene of many very interesting events and occurrences in those days. The time of the massacre, so-called, was the 5th of March, 1770.

GREAT INCREASE OF HOSTILE FEELING BETWEEN THE CITIZENS
AND THE SOLDIERS.

From the time when the British troops had first been quartered in Boston, the ill-will which existed between the citizens and the soldiers had been gradually increasing until it had at length reached a degree of exasperation which was of a very threatening character. Perhaps there were never a set of men on earth worse than the enlisted soldiers of the British army of those days, and in choosing the regiments to send to Boston, the government do not at any rate seem to have looked for men less violent and depraved than the average

of their class. There were two regiments—the Fourteenth and the Twenty-ninth. The men of the Twenty-ninth made themselves particularly obnoxious to the people of Boston, by their overbearing, violent and reckless behavior in the streets and in their casual intercourse with the people of the town. The people themselves, doubtless, especially those of the lower classes, returned insult for insult and injury for injury; and thus quarrels and collisions were continually occurring, each of which increased the general excitement, until it was no longer safe to walk the streets, and a general outbreak and conflict seemed imminent every day.

COLLISIONS BETWEEN THE SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS IN NEW YORK.

While these things were occurring in Boston, similar scenes were witnessed in New York. There the soldiers attempted to cut down a liberty pole in the Park. The men and boys assembled in haste to defend the pole, and three times the soldiers were repulsed. The fourth time the soldiers succeeded, and cut down the pole. For two days after this the streets of New York were filled with parties of citizens and soldiers fighting each other. Of course, the military authorities on the one side, and the civil on the other, made a certain degree

of effort to restrain these riots, but for some time without success. The soldiers, of course, were not armed. but fought like the others, with clubs and stones. In the end, it seems they were beaten, being of course greatly outnumbered, and then the town boys bought a piece of ground near the junction of Broadway and the Bowery, where they put up another liberty pole, taller than the one that work of cutting through it so difficult and tedious, that the soldiers could not possibly hope to accomplish it before a force could be assembled to drive them away.

TIDINGS OF THESE OCCURRENCES IN BOSTON.

Of course, the tidings of these occurrences soon reached Boston, and the effect was, as may easily be imagined, greatly to increase the excitement, and to make both the soldiers and the people of the town more eager than ever for a combat there. The townspeople were enthusiastic in their eagerness to emulate the prowess of their New York fellow combatants in giving the soldiers a beating—while the soldiers were exasperated at the defeat

of their comrades in New York, and were burning with a vehement desire to avenge it.

HOSTILE FEELINGS TOWARD THE FRIENDS AND PARTISANS OF
THE GOVERNMENT.

The hostile feeling which the people manifested toward the soldiers extended to all those who were supposed to sympathize with the government in their attempts to tax the colonies, and to force them to submission by the presence of an armed force. In this way a number of quarrels and collisions occurred which sometimes led to serious consequences.

In one case, there was a certain merchant who insisted on selling tea secretly, contrary to an alleged agreement that he had made not to sell any. One morning, the people, in passing by his house, saw a strong stake set up before his door with various significant symbols and inscriptions upon it, among the rest the figure of a hand pointing to the house as in derision. The people gathered around. Among them was one of the neighbors, a man named Richardson, who was a friend of the merchant and of the government, and he, seeing a countryman coming along with a cart, asked him to drive his cart against the stake and break it down.

The bystanders interposed and would not allow him to do it. Richardson remonstrated and attempted to lead the horse against the stake himself. A quarrel ensued, the end of which was that a number of boys chased Richardson home, by throwing stones at him; and when they reached his house, they continued to throw stones at the house. Richardson then came out with a gun and fired into the crowd. One of the boys was killed. He was the son of a poor German, and about eleven years old.

Of course, this affair produced an intense and universal excitement. The people gave the boy a public burial, and the funeral was conducted with great ceremony. Six of the school-fellows of the deceased bore the pall, and a company of five hundred children walked in procession before the bier. The name of the boy was Christopher Snider, and he was afterwards sometimes called the first martyr in the cause of American independence, as his life was the first one that was lost in these preliminary struggles.

There was one circumstance which contributed a great deal to make the townspeople more bold and reckless in their street quarrels with the soldiers, and this was that martial law had not been proclaimed in Boston, so that the town was still under

the control of the regular civil government ; and according to the principles of public law, no military officer could, under any circumstances, order the men to fire upon the citizens, except when called upon to do so by a properly authorized civil officer.

Thus, when the soldiers were off duty, they went about the streets unarmed ; and when they were on duty, as for instance when they were on guard, or were marching in squads or companies through the streets, the people knew, or rather supposed, that however much they taunted or insulted them, the officer in command would not dare to order his men to fire upon them.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTY WHICH LED TO THE
MASSACRE.

The desire of the soldiers and the citizens to find an occasion for a fight was pretty soon gratified in consequence of an occurrence which took place at a rope-walk in the town—the blame of which, in the first instance, rests wholly, as it would seem, upon a townsman. A soldier of the Twenty-ninth regiment—the one which was the most obnoxious to the people—was passing peaceably by the rope-walk, when one of the workmen, looking out at a window, accosted him. and asked him if he did not want a

job—the soldiers being not unwilling, it seems, to earn a little money now and then by working for the townspeople when off duty.

The soldier answered yes, whereupon the man gave him an indecent and outrageously insulting rejoinder, and broke into a fit of coarse and derisive laughter.

It was a wanton and wholly gratuitous insult on the part of the ropewalk man.

The soldier was, of course, exceedingly angry. He challenged the workman to come out and fight him. The workman came out, and he and the soldier had a fight with their fists in the street. The soldier was beaten, and the workman went back among his comrades, who had assembled at the door to witness the affair, exulting in his victory.

The soldier then went off to the barracks, but soon returned, bringing with him a party of his comrades, all full of excitement and burning with evenge. The rope-makers came out to meet them, at the same time sending messengers to other ropewalks calling upon the men there to come to their aid.

The soldiers were beaten in this second rencontre, being probably outnumbered, and retreated. But they only retreated to obtain reinforcements,

and they afterward came back to the ropewalk again and again, each time in greater numbers—but finding at each attack that the rope-makers had been more and more fully reënforced. The affair was now becoming serious, but by this time Mr. Gray, the owner of the ropewalk, having heard what was going on, came with a number of friends to the spot, and after a great deal of trouble and difficulty, succeeded in drawing off his men and putting an end to the quarrel for that day.

This affair took place on Friday, the 2d of March ; three days before the massacre, which occurred on Monday, the 5th.

EXCITEMENT ON SATURDAY.

The excitement which spread through the town in consequence of this affair became very great on the following day. The soldiers, who had been so repeatedly beaten, declared that the matter should not end there.

They resolved that the honor of the regiment required that the townsmen should be yet conquered and humbled. The commander of the regiment, in some sense, took their part, as it was very natural that he should do. He appealed to Governor Hutchinson—then the acting governor of the colony—and maintained that the responsibility of com-

mencing the disturbance rested with the ropewalk man who had so insultingly repelled the soldier, civilly applying to be employed. Mr. Gray, on being applied to, acknowledged the justice of this, and dismissed the man from his employment. This, however, did not satisfy the soldiers. They had been beaten by the town-boys, and nothing could restore the tarnished honor of the regiment but to give them a good beating in return.

They determined to do this on Monday, and they spent Saturday in laying their plans, and preparing clubs and other such weapons as they could procure. For of course when off duty they were not allowed to bear their regimental arms.

ATTITUDE OF THE COLONIAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

While the excitement was thus rapidly extending, and both the townsmen and the soldiers were eager for another fight, it would seem that neither the officers in command of the troops on the one side, nor the civil authorities of the town or of the colony on the other, were as sincere and earnest in their efforts to prevent any farther disturbance as they might have been. The officers, although they would do nothing to encourage the men, were still probably not unwilling that they should have an opportunity to retrieve their credit, and teach the

insolent townsmen, whom they themselves hated and despised as much as the soldiers did, a useful lesson. Accordingly, while they did not allow the men to go armed with deadly weapons, they left them at liberty all day on Saturday and Sunday, and late into the night, to go and come as they pleased through the streets, and form their plans and make their preparations for renewing the conflict without any molestation.

The authorities of the town, too, while of course they did not wish to have the hostility between the troops and the people proceed to too great an extremity, seem not to have desired that it should be too suddenly or too entirely allayed. They wished to have the soldiers removed to the castle, and to this end they were willing to have it fully appear that their presence in the town was entirely inconsistent with the peace and good order of the community. Of course, the continuance of these riots and disturbances tended to show that they were right, and while they would do nothing to encourage them, it was not to be expected that they would make any special or extraordinary efforts to suppress them, since by so doing they would show that the evils connected with the presence of the soldiers could be controlled, and of course that there was no serious objection to their remaining where they were

Accordingly, after some ordinary precautions had been taken, the council met on Monday and passed a resolve that the town would never be safe from quarrels between the soldiers and the inhabitants, so long as the soldiers should be quartered among them. They immediately communicated these resolutions to the military authorities.

DELIBERATE ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY THE SOLDIERS.

It would seem that some of the soldiers had formed the plan for a great combat between them and the people of the town on Monday evening, and fully expected that great numbers would be killed; for they not only, in many instances, uttered this determination, with suppressed but angry threats and imprecations, but they took pains especially to send word to many persons, who were supposed to be in sympathy with the British government, and whom they accordingly considered their friends, and notify them of the impending danger, and warn them to be on their guard. These warnings were given on Saturday and Sunday. It was not generally known at the time, that such warnings were given, but afterward, when testimony was regularly taken in respect to the affair, these facts with others came to light.

EXAMPLES OF THE WARNINGS GIVEN.

One of the witnesses, for example, who were afterward brought forward when the affair came to be legally investigated, testified that she was residing in the family of a certain Amos Thayer, and that a soldier came to the house on Saturday evening. "The soldier," as the witness went on to state, "desiring to speak with Mr. Thayer, was told by his sister, Mrs. Mary Thayer, that her brother was engaged and could not be spoken with. The soldier then said, 'Your brother, as you call him, is a man I have a great regard for, and I came on purpose to tell him to keep in his house; for before Tuesday night at twelve o'clock there will be a great deal of bloodshed and a great many lives lost.'

"He said, moreover, to Mrs. Thayer, that he came with this warning out of particular regard to her brother, to advise him to keep in his house, for then he would be out of harm's way. He added, 'Your brother knows me very well. My name is Charles Malone.' He then went away."

Another witness named Matthew Adams testified, that he was sent early on Monday evening to a house where a certain corporal of the Twenty-ninth regiment had his quarters, and there saw the cor-

poral and his wife, and also a young fifer, of the same regiment. After he had delivered his errand and was coming away, "The corporal," he says, "called him back, and desired him with great earnestness to go home to his master's house as soon as his business was over, and not to be abroad on any account, especially on that night, for the soldiers were determined to be revenged on the rope-walk people, and that much mischief would be done. Upon which, the fifer added that he hoped to God they would burn the town down. On this, he left the house, but the corporal called after him again, and begged he would mind what he said to him."

These and other similar testimonies, which were taken subsequently, were held to prove that there was a preconcerted plan formed among the soldiers, particularly of the Twenty-ninth regiment, to make a general attack upon the townspeople on Monday night, with a deliberate intention to kill as many as possible of them and to burn the town. It is evident that they do not really prove this, as the preliminary threats and denunciations of angry men in such cases as these, always go far in advance of their real designs; and then, moreover, the warnings given by the persons referred to in the depositions may have been prompted by the surmises and

fears of timid or excited individuals, rather than by their knowledge of what was actually resolved upon

GREAT EXCITEMENT ON MONDAY EVENING.

However this may be, the whole town was in a state of great and intense excitement on Monday evening. It was a bright moonlight night, but there had been a fall of snow during the day, and the streets were covered to the depth of nearly a foot. Through this snow groups of men and boys were parading the streets, talking defiantly about the soldiers, and insulting those they met, calling them lobsters, and bloody backs, in allusion to the red coats which form so conspicuous a feature of the British uniform. The soldiers, too, who were allowed their usual liberty by the officers on that night, were out in small parties, and various petty collisions occurred, which, though attended by no immediately serious consequences, added to the prevailing excitement.

Many of the petty officers who were thus sauntering about with the soldiers wore their side arms, which consisted of bayonets, cutlasses and similar arms; and with these, in many instances, they made threatening thrusts at persons whom they met, and even struck blows with the flat of the weapon, but without doing any serious harm. In

many cases they had some excuse for these outrages in the opprobrious or insulting words that the town-boys addressed to them as they passed ; but at other times they were mere wanton expressions of their defiance and hate, and of their desire to bring on a conflict.

THE SENTINELS.

Here and there at different posts sentinels were stationed as usual, and these were armed. These men, however, could not fire upon the people, however great the provocation, without an order from a superior officer, and, as has already been stated, no officer could order any soldier to fire, unless authorized to do so by the civil magistracy—except, indeed, in cases of immediate and urgent personal danger—as for example, if the townspeople were to come suddenly upon them and attack them with fire-arms, or with other deadly weapons, so as to put them in immediate danger of their lives. The people of the town knew this very well, and they felt sure that they might taunt and insult even an armed sentinel on his post as much as they pleased, and yet he would not dare to fire upon them unless they actually attempted to lay hands upon him. So they became, in many instances, very insolent and abusive.

One of these sentinels was stationed opposite the front of the custom-house, which stood near what is now the corner of State and Exchange Streets; and while he was at his post, observing the various groups of men and boys in the street before him, he saw an officer passing, and a boy—it was a certain barber's boy named Edward Garrick—following him and calling out to him to pay for having his hair dressed at his master's shop, and telling the bystanders that there was a man so mean that he would not pay his barber.

The sentinel immediately stepped forward to the boy, and calling to him, said :

“ Turn round here and let me see your face.”

The boy turned round, saying, that he was not ashamed to show his face to anybody in the world.

Upon this, the sentinel gave him a blow on the head with the butt of his musket, which sent him reeling and staggering into the street, and almost stunned him.

MURRAY'S BARRACKS.

A large body of soldiers were quartered in barracks called Murray's barracks, which were situated near the end of Washington Street—at that part of the street which was then called Cornhill—near its junction with Dock Square. These barracks

were full of soldiers, and in the streets and lanes in the vicinity of them there began to congregate excited groups of people, who, as they passed to and fro, mingled more or less with the soldiers, the various parties, as they encountered each other, exchanging insults, imprecations and threats, and sometimes even blows. In the immediate vicinity of the barracks, and around the doors, were a great number of excited soldiers, making preparations apparently for a fight. A few were armed with bayonets and cutlasses, but most of them were only provided with the weapons of a mob—clubs and bludgeons, though some it seems for weapons had taken shovels and tongs. There were several subaltern officers that appeared among these men from time to time, some of whom, according to the testimony afterward given, were endeavoring to quiet the men, and induce them to go inside the barracks—though there was one who eagerly encouraged them, and urged them on. His voice could be heard in the midst of all the uproar and confusion calling out, “Turn out, boys! I’ll stand by you! Go at ’m! Stick ’m! Knock ’m down. Run your bayonets through ’m! I’ll stand by you!”

There were some persons of respectability and influence in the town who came at this time to the

barracks, and urged the officer in command to call the men in. But the officer replied that the soldiers had been insulted by the people of the town, and it was the duty of the people first to retire. If *they* would disperse, then he would call in the soldiers.

MESSAGE FROM KING STREET.

While things were in this state at the barracks a boy came running from King Street with news of the sentinel's having knocked a boy down with his musket, and calling upon the crowd to go to the rescue of him. Hereupon there was a great rush from the neighborhood of the barracks into King Street, and very soon the sentinel there was confronted by a crowd of some hundred wild and angry men and boys, who derided him, hooted him, threw snow-balls at him, and did everything they possibly could to exasperate him and drive him to frenzy. He flourished his gun and made thrusts at them with his bayonet to keep them off, and pretended to make ready to fire. This only caused the mob to redouble their outcries and shouts of defiance and derision. They dared the old bloody back to fire, and pressed closer and closer upon him.

THE SENTINEL SENDS FOR HELP.

The sentinel's post was in front of the building

which was used as a custom-house, but which was also the residence of a family that had charge of the premises, and contained, moreover, the rooms occupied by the commissioners of customs, spoken of in a former chapter. The sentinel, finding himself so hardly pressed, turned and went quickly to the door of the custom-house and gave a thundering rap with the knocker. A person came to the door and opened it a little way. The sentinel said a word to him, and then the door was shut suddenly and the sentinel came back to his post.

A CORPORAL AND A FILE OF MEN.

There was a guard-house not far distant, where a small number of men were stationed, as usual in a town occupied by troops, consisting of the men necessary to relieve the sentinels on duty, from time to time, and to act as occasion might require in any sudden emergency. In a few minutes after the application of the sentinel to the door of the custom-house, a corporal and a file of men, with a captain of the regiment following them—Captain Preston by name—were seen marching rapidly down the street, the soldiers with bayonets fixed and presented, and the officers flourishing their cutlasses to drive the people out of their way. In one or two instances they had rude encounters with

persons whom they met, though no one was seriously hurt by them. In this manner they marched rapidly on until they reached the post of the sentinel, and here they were at once drawn up, in a sort of semicircle, and presenting their bayonets toward the crowd of the people in the street, they assumed an attitude of resolute defiance. They were but half a dozen men against a hundred, but they were armed with gunpowder, lead and steel, while the mob of yelling men and boys before them had nothing to oppose to these deadly weapons but sticks and snow-balls.

THE CRY OF FIRE.

As soon as this manœuvre had been executed, and the file of men had taken their position, the men and boys gathered around them, coming up as near as they dared to the points of the bayonets, and there filled the air with their taunting cries and fierce invectives, calling the soldiers all sorts of opprobrious names and daring them to fire. "Fire Fire!" they cried. "Fire if you dare!"

A cry of fire soon began to be raised in the adjoining streets, and very soon the bells began to ring an alarm. Whether this alarm arose accidentally from the calls of the men and boys addressed to the soldiers, or whether some persons in

the interest of the rioters raised the cry for the purpose of calling a greater number of the townspeople to the spot, does not certainly appear. At any rate, the alarm became general throughout the town, and multitudes of people came out from their houses, and ran along the streets asking where was the fire. Some of them were soon informed that there was no fire, but that a fight was going on between the military and the townspeople in King Street, and all, whether so informed or not, following the current which was everywhere setting in that direction, soon found their way to the scene of the difficulty. As they drew near to the spot, they heard the reports of musketry, and on turning into the street, they found the men and boys retreating in all directions, a portion of them bringing with them the bodies of their companions, some dead and some mortally wounded.

THE FIRING OF THE MILITARY ON THE CROWD.

The soldiers had fired upon the crowd before them, and had killed and wounded several persons. They did not all fire together, as if by the order of an officer, but first one gun was discharged and a man was killed by the bullet—then, after a moment's pause, two more, in quick succession, and then others. There was so much confusion arising

from the hootings and hallooings of the mob, and their cries of "Fire! Fire away! Fire if you dare!" and the hurrying of people to and fro, that it could never be satisfactorily ascertained whether Captain Preston gave the order or not. When the affair was afterward legally investigated, the men declared that Captain Preston ordered them to fire. Several of the bystanders also testified to hearing him give the order, some say that he accompanied it with oaths and imprecations. He himself declared that he did not give any such order. He said that on the contrary, he called out to them, "Don't fire." As, however, it was murder for soldiers to fire upon unarmed men without an order from the officer in command; and not much less than that for any officer to give such an order without being authorized by the civil authority, in a community not under martial law, it became a matter of vital importance on the one hand to the men, to prove that they received the order, and on the other hand to the captain that he did not give it. They were thus all deeply interested witnesses, and people could not tell which to believe.

The bystanders who were present gave the same conflicting testimony. Those whose sympathies were with the government—and several such were near—were sure that Captain Preston did not give

the order ; while several of the townspeople were equally positive that he did. The result of the trial, which took place long afterward, was the acquittal both of the captain and of most of the men.

It is not improbable that in the noise and confusion which prevailed, the soldiers, maddened by the taunts and hootings of the mob, and by the sticks and snow-balls thrown at them, and hearing the cries of "Fire ! Why don't you fire !" all around them, were deceived, and imagined or half imagined that in shooting at the men before them they were obeying orders, when they were really acting under the impulse of their own resentment and hate. Indeed, we may well imagine that in the case of a file of soldiers in the situation in which these men were placed—exasperated by a mob of men and boys insulting and almost assaulting them, and standing each with his loaded musket presented to the hated assailants, and his finger on the trigger, the sound of the word "Fire !" coming to them in any way, and from any quarter, in the midst of the confusion, would produce the fatal pull by an almost mechanical impulse too sudden and powerful to be controlled.

THE PEOPLE OF THE CUSTOM-HOUSE IMPLICATED.

The reader will recollect that the post of the

sentinel who was first attacked by the mob, which was the point at which the firing subsequently took place, was in front of the custom-house. Some of the witnesses afterward testified that two of the shots came from the windows of the custom-house itself, in the second story, which, if it had been established as a fact, would have been a very important one. In connection with this subject, there was a boy, named, singularly enough, Charlotte Bourgate, who gave, in substance, the following testimony in an affidavit.

He said he was an indented apprentice, and that he lived at a certain Mr. Hudson's at the North End. That Mr. Hudson went out early in the evening to go to the custom-house to take a glass of wine there with some friends. That after a time he heard the bells ring and thought it was fire, and went into the street, and went at length to the custom-house, where he knocked at the door, and a young man let him in and locked the door after him.

When he had entered the custom-house, he saw Mr. Hudson and another gentleman come down stairs and go into a room.

“And then”—the rest of his testimony I will give substantially in his own words—“four or five men went up stairs, pulling and hauling me after

them, and said, 'My good boy, come.' When I was carried into the chamber, there was but one light in the room, and that in a corner of the chamber, where I saw a tall man loading a gun. I saw two guns in the room. There was a number of gentlemen in the room. After the gun was loaded, the tall man gave it to me and told me to fire, and said he would kill me if I did not. I told him I would not. He, drawing a sword out of his cane, told me if I did not fire it he would run the sword through me. The man putting the gun out of the window, it being a little open, I fired it sideways up the street. The tall man then loaded the gun again. I heard the balls go down. The man then laid it on the window again and told me to fire it. I told him I would not fire again. He told me he would run me through the body if I did not. Upon which I fired again, in the same way up the street.

"After I fired the second gun, I saw my master in the room. He took a gun and pointed it out of the window. I heard the gun go off. Then a tall man came and clapped me on the shoulders, above and below stairs, and said, 'That's my good boy. I'll give you some money to-morrow.' I said, 'I don't want any money.' There being a light in the lower room, and the door being ajar, I saw that it was the tall man that clapped me on the shoulder.

“Then the young man let me out. When I got out of the house, I saw a number of people in the streets, and ran home as fast as I could, and sat up all night in my master’s kitchen.

“And further I say that my master licked me the next night for telling about his firing out of the window, and for fear that I should be licked again, I did deny before Justice Quincy all that I had said, for which I am very sorry.

“And further I say not.

his
CHARLOTTE + BOURGATE.”
mark.

THE RESULT OF THE TRIALS.

On account of young Bourgate’s prevarications and contradictions of himself, but little attention seems to have been paid to the charges made against the custom-house people. But Captain Preston and the soldiers were subsequently brought to trial on a charge of murder; and although they were tried by Massachusetts courts and juries, they were all acquitted but two of the soldiers, who were convicted of manslaughter, and were moderately punished. This result was considered as redounding greatly to the credit of the people of the colony, in respect to their fairness and impartiality in all their deliberate acts—but the acquittal of the men did

not any the less dispose the people to retain the name for the affair which it had already universally received, and by which it has since always been designated in history—that of the Boston Massacre.

But we must return to the scene of the riot.

SCENE IN THE STREET AFTER THE FIRING.

Immediately after the firing of the soldiers, the people that were directly before and around them fell back, their taunts and shouts of derision now suddenly changed to cries of rage and alarm. Some soon came back to take up the dead and wounded, while others rushed on through the streets in a frenzy, calling out to those whom they met to tell them hurriedly what had happened, and urging them to hasten forward into King Street, where, as they said, the soldiers were massacreing the inhabitants. The bells soon began to ring more vehemently than ever, and cries of “Fire! Fire! Turn out! Turn out!” filled the streets. Streams of people soon began to pour in from all directions toward the scene of the conflict, and all was tumult and confusion.

In the meantime the military on their part were not idle. Information of what had happened was very speedily communicated to the barracks, and a number of companies of the Twenty-ninth regiment

quartered there, were at once put under arms and marched into the street. The whole of the Fourteenth regiment were also put under arms, but were kept in the barracks ready to be marched out if necessary at a moment's notice.

In the street, the troops and the many hundreds of people that had collected, remained for some time face to face, all in a state of extreme excitement and agitation, and each party waiting the arrival of the superior to whom they respectively looked for direction. Captain Preston had sent for Colonel Dalrymple, the commander of the troops, and the people for Hutchinson, acting governor of the colony.

PROCEEDINGS DURING THE NIGHT.

These personages, when they arrived upon the spot, entered at once, in connection with the members of the council and other persons of influence in the community, into various negotiations and arrangements with a view to restore quiet. A justice's court was immediately organized, and Captain Preston readily surrendered himself a prisoner, to be tried on any charge which might be brought against him. The soldiers who had fired upon the mob were also delivered up by the military authorities and imprisoned by order of the court. It was

decided also that an immediate examination should be made by the court into the circumstances of the event which had occurred, and a guard of one hundred men was organized from among the people to protect the court in its deliberations.

These measures having been taken, the people slowly dispersed, and a comparative degree of quiet for the night was gradually restored.

PROCEEDINGS ON THE FOLLOWING MORNING.

It was, however, only the superficial agitation which had been allayed, for the next morning, it was found that the excitement produced by the events of the night was rapidly deepening and extending. Prompt measures were taken to send tidings of what had occurred into the neighboring towns, and by noon large numbers of people were seen coming in all sorts of vehicles into Boston, to give their support and coöperation to any measures which their countrymen might see best to adopt.

MEETING OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

Early in the morning a meeting of the governor and council was held, and the selectmen of the town and the justices of the county presented themselves before them with an urgent request that the governor would order the troops to be removed

from the town. It would not be possible, they said, to appease the people, while the soldiers remained, and the most direful consequences might result at any moment if their removal was delayed.

Governor Hutchinson was greatly perplexed in this emergency. To order the soldiers to be withdrawn would seem to be compelling the military to retreat before a mob, and this he knew would not only be humiliating to them, but would tend to injure him in the estimation of the government in England—the party in this' contest that he chiefly sympathised with, and the one whose favor he was most anxious to retain. On the other hand, he was a Bostonian, and he could not well stand long against the united and most determined will of his countrymen.

Accordingly, in reply to the demand of the selectmen, he said it was not in *his* power to remove the troops. Colonel Dalrymple was the man, and he sent for Colonel Dalrymple.

Colonel Dalrymple said that he should not dare to take the responsibility of removing the troops unless he had an order from the governor to justify him in such a step. He showed, moreover, that unless when there was an officer of a higher rank than he, in command, the troops were at the disposal of the governor of the colony.

This threw the responsibility back upon the governor, and he was perplexed and undecided, and nothing was done.

MEETING OF CITIZENS IN FANEUIL HALL.

In the meantime, a meeting of citizens was called in Faneuil Hall, and at eleven o'clock a very large assembly had convened. The meeting was opened with prayer by Dr. Cooper, the minister of the Brattle Street church, and a man of the very highest standing. The action which was taken by this meeting was the appointment of a committee of fourteen to proceed to the council chamber and to demand, in the name of the people of Boston, the immediate removal of the troops, declaring at the same time that the inhabitants and the soldiery could no longer live together in safety, and that nothing but the immediate removal of the troops could prevent a new outbreak and a general carnage. At the head of this committee was the venerable Samuel Adams, one of the most distinguished and highly respected of the citizens.

The meeting having appointed this committee, and finding that the hall was not large enough to contain the throngs that came both from the town and the country to witness the proceedings, adjourned to the Old South Church, where they

were to receive the committee and hear their report.

CONFERENCE WITH THE GOVERNOR.

The committee proceeded at once to the council chamber, and there, when they had delivered their message, the governor attempted to argue the case with them, saying that any attack upon the troops by the people would be high treason, and that all engaged in it would forfeit their lives. The committee had no reply to make to this except to repeat their demand that the troops should be removed.

Colonel Dalrymple all the time stood by, declining to take any responsibility in the matter. He was under the governor's orders, he said, and would retain the troops in town, or remove them to the castle, just as his excellency should decide.

Thus forced to come to a decision, the governor concluded to try the effect of a compromise. So he said to the committee that they might report to the people of the town that he would order the Twenty-ninth regiment to be removed to the castle, but the Fourteenth would remain in town, though he would see that effectual measures were adopted to keep them under very close supervision, so that the inhabitants should have nothing to fear from them.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The committee having received this reply, left the council chamber, which, as the reader will recollect, was in the building still standing at the head of State Street, and proceeded along the street toward the Old South Church. The street was filled with throngs of people, through which the committee walked in solemn procession, with their venerable chairman at the head of it, till they reached the church.

The church was crowded. A passage was, however, soon made for the committee up the thronged aisle, and Mr. Adams made his report. The meeting voted unanimously that the report was unsatisfactory. They immediately appointed a second committee, consisting, like the other, of the very first gentlemen of Boston, in respect to wealth, position and influence, and with Samuel Adams still at the head of it, to proceed again to the council chamber, and renew their demand for the immediate removal of all the troops.

THE DEMAND UPON THE GOVERNOR RENEWED.

The new committee, led by their venerable chairman, proceeded at once to the council chamber, and there delivered to the governor their second

message. He was more embarrassed and perplexed than ever. He repeated the declaration which he had made before, that he had no power to remove the troops. It was very inconsiderate for him to say this, for he had already promised to remove one of the regiments, and Adams accordingly at once replied that if he had power over one regiment he had power over both. At any rate, the people insisted absolutely that the soldiers should go, and if he refused to order their removal, he must be responsible for the consequences.

Colonel Dalrymple stood by all the time, but gave the governor no help in his perplexity. He was ready to obey an order if the governor would issue one, but he would take no share of the responsibility of removing the troops. On the contrary, he said that the threatening and revolutionary attitude which the people of the town and of the vicinity had assumed was a reason, in his opinion, why they should *not* be removed.

The council, on the other hand, after due deliberation, were unanimous in advising that the governor should give the order, and the governor finally decided to comply. Colonel Dalrymple on receiving it said that he should obey it, and promised to take the troops away without any unnecessary delay.

The committee then returned to the meeting at the Old South Church, to report the successful result of their mission, and the meeting adjourned. A large militia force was, however, at once raised to watch over the safety of the town and of the inhabitants while the troops remained.

These measures having been taken, a certain degree of quiet was gradually restored to the town, and preparations began to be made for the interment of the victims of the massacre. The funerals, some of which were from the homes of the deceased, and others from Faneuil Hall, were celebrated with great parade, and were attended by an immense concourse of citizens. The new guards were posted in the streets. The soldiers were kept confined in their barracks, where they muttered their vain rage and resentment at the humiliating position they occupied—two British regiments held thus as it were prisoners, by the citizens of a miserable provincial town.

Both they and their officers were extremely reluctant to go away, and in order to soften the mortification of their defeat, the officers seemed to take as much time as possible in making the necessary preparations. A fortnight elapsed before they were ready to go, but they were then finally embarked

in boats and taken down to the castle, on one of the islands of the harbor.

Thus the affair, so far as relates to the immediate action of the parties concerned, was ended ; but as the tidings of it spread through the country and passed across the ocean to the government in London, the effects which it produced were of vast importance. In America, it greatly extended and strengthened the growing feeling of disaffection toward the government of the mother country, and in England it produced a feeling of exasperation in the ministry, which made them more ready than ever to adopt the severest measures against the refractory colonists. They felt that a body of British troops had been ignominiously hustled out by a mob from the post where the government had deliberately placed them, and thus that the military power of the British empire had been insulted and defied by a set of vulgar merchants and citizens, the despised population of a provincial town. Such a rebuff was of course not to be submitted to. The difficulty was to determine in what way the stinging injury should be redressed and avenged.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPULAR OUTBREAKS.

LONG PROTRACTION OF THE PRELIMINARY CONTEST.

THE affair of the Boston Massacre, so called, occurred in the year 1770, five years before the war between the colonial government and the mother country was commenced by the battle of Lexington, which took place in the same month of April, in 1775. Thus, the preliminary contests which preceded the actual commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country were protracted through a series of several years.

EXCITEMENT IN ENGLAND PRODUCED BY THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

The news of the firing upon the people of Boston by the troops, and of the consequent somewhat ignominious expulsion of the military from the town, awakened a great excitement in England. The intelligence produced a double effect. It aroused the government to a feeling of resentment, and to a determination to bring the refractory colonists to due submission by some means or other, at

all hazards. On the other hand, it awakened the friends of the colonists, and all those who had been opposed to the policy of governing them with a strong hand, which the ministry had now been pursuing for several years, to make fresh efforts to have this policy reversed, in order that the disastrous consequences which they anticipated from the continuance of it might be averted.

RESOLUTIONS OFFERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The last named party accordingly brought forward resolutions in the house of commons recommending the total repeal of all the measures which had been adopted for the past ten years for taxing and coercing the colonies, and restoring everything to the state existing at the commencement of the reign.

In the course of the debate on these resolutions, the party advocating them showed how completely the ministry had failed in all their plans.

“You have imposed taxes,” said they, “and then repealed them again. You have attempted to raise a revenue in America for the purpose of relieving somewhat the burdens of the people of England, but have thereby only produced an aggravation of the distress of the British merchants and manufacturers. You have formed schemes which

you said were to fortify and strengthen the British dominion in America, and they have issued in a state of things which threaten its entire overthrow. You have dissolved assemblies in America for contumacy, and then allowed them to be reconvoked without their having made the slightest concession. You have denounced multitudes of the colonists as guilty of sedition, and even of treason, without having been able to bring a single individual to trial and punishment. You have sent troops to prevent a rebellion, and their presence and action only served to provoke one. And now, in the end, every branch of the British government in America is seen to be degraded, and the resentment and resistance of the colonists is continually increasing and extending, and is everywhere triumphant.’

This state of things, they urged, proved conclusively that the course of policy which had produced it ought to be at once totally abandoned.

THE MINISTRY WILL NOT YIELD.

These arguments, though entirely unanswerable, were not calculated to have much effect in inducing the ministry to yield. On the contrary, their wounded pride received only a fresh exasperation from them, and they exerted all the political influence which they could bring to bear upon the house

of commons, to procure votes against the resolutions. The resolutions were consequently defeated, and the government were accordingly allowed to persevere.

RIGOROUS MEASURES ADOPTED.

One of the immediate effects which was produced in England by the refractory and rebellious spirit, as they termed it, that the colonists displayed, was to cause orders to be given to the governors of the different provinces, the collectors of the customs, and other officers, to be more strict and stringent than ever in carrying the laws into execution, and in exacting the fees, the duties and the other payments of various kinds which it devolved upon them to collect; and also to enforce in the most rigid manner the regulations and restrictions in respect to foreign commerce which were in force under existing laws. There resulted from this increased pressure, and also from the domineering and haughty manner in which the officials performed these duties, a great deal of dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the people, which led to several serious outbreaks some time before the commencement of open war. Some of these outbreaks occurred before, and some after the affair of the massacre.

THE NORTH CAROLINA REGULATORS.

One of the most serious of these outbreaks was that of the regulators, so called, of North Carolina. It seems that the people of that colony became at last so incensed at the various impositions and abuses practised upon them by the officers of the government, in charging exorbitant fees for legal documents and proceedings, and collecting taxes in a vexatious and extortionate manner, that at length a large number of the poorer classes banded themselves together and took a solemn pledge not to pay any taxes at all until these abuses were corrected, and the fees and charges which they complained of were regulated in some just and equitable manner. The people thus combined were called *regulators*.

THE PARTY OF THE REGULATORS INCREASED AND STRENGTHENED.

The party of the regulators, after increasing slowly for a time, received at length a great impulse and extension by certain acts of the government which the common people thought outrageous. For these acts, however, it was quite as much upon their own colonial government itself, as upon the authority of the crown that the responsibility fell; and thus the rebellion of the regulators was never exactly considered as an incident of the revolt of the colonies against the mother country.

One of the things which greatly displeased the poorer class of tax-payers, was a vote of the assembly to build a palace for the governor, as an expression of public gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act. The people were the more incensed at this as it happened that the period for beginning to collect the tax assessed for the purpose of building this palace, came just at the time that the new tax which parliament had laid on the five necessary articles of consumption—glass, lead, paper, paints and tea—was promulgated. It seemed very hard to the poor backwoodsmen that they should be compelled to contribute from their scanty earnings to build a palace for a governor in thanks for the repeal of an odious law which was immediately replaced by one still more odious.

In another instance, one of the public officers was accused of extortion and brought to trial, on six indictments, and found guilty in every instance. But the royal judges only sentenced him to pay a fine of one penny.

FEW—THE LEADER OF THE REGULATORS.

These occurrences greatly increased the exasperation of the people, and added to the number of the regulators, who at length banded themselves together under the leadership of a poor and igno-

rant man like themselves, named Few. After a time they assembled to the number of two thousand and declared for a revolution. Few announced that he was commissioned from heaven to free the world from oppression, beginning with North Carolina, where he and his followers were first to abolish all courts of justice, exterminate all lawyers and public officers, overturn the provincial government, and establish an entirely new political dispensation founded on the principles of justice and the rights of man.

DEFEAT OF THE REGULATORS.

Of course, all the better portion of the people of the colony were ready to sustain any measures necessary for putting down such a movement as this. The governor organized a military force and went out to attack the regulators in their camp, which was upon the river Allamance, in the interior and toward the northern part of the colony.

When the governor approached the place where the regulators were assembled, he sent forward a summons to them to lay down their arms and surrender. They refused to do it, and prepared to defend themselves to the best of their ability. The governor then ordered the troops to advance with the artillery, and the battle commenced. It

was short and decisive. The insurgents could not stand against the troops. Their scanty supply of ammunition was soon exhausted. Twenty or thirty of them were killed or wounded. The rest dispersed. Few himself was taken prisoner, and the next day was hung upon a tree, as an outlaw.

The governor then proceeded to scour the country with his troops, laying waste the farms and destroying the property of the poor regulators, and offering rewards for the apprehension of the leaders. Many of them were taken and were executed in a very summary manner. Of the rest, some perished miserably, while numbers escaped into neighboring colonies, and some crossed the mountains to the westward, and there commenced life anew by founding settlements in the wilderness, among the Indians and bears.

THE SLOOP LIBERTY.

The most frequent difficulties, however, in these times occurred in the towns on the seaboard, where the laws in respect to duties on imports were to be executed by revenue vessels and custom-house officers. One case that for a time produced much excitement was that of the sloop Liberty.

The sloop Liberty was an armed revenue cutter, that was fitted out in Boston by the government

officers there and sent to Rhode Island under the command of a certain Captain Reid, to enforce the revenue laws at the harbor of Newport. Captain Reid proceeded to his station, and began to execute his commission, acting, as the colonists thought, in a very arbitrary and imperious manner.

Among other things, he seized and brought into port two vessels belonging to Connecticut. While the vessels were lying in the port, in possession of Captain Reid, under the charge of having violated the revenue laws in some way, Captain Packwood, the captain of one of them, accompanied by two of his men, went on board his vessel, which was at anchor at a little distance from the shore, in order to obtain some of his wearing apparel; but was told when he got on board, that his effects had all been sent on board his majesty's sloop Liberty.

Captain Packwood then asked for his sword, and he was told that a man belonging to the Liberty, who with others had been put on board the vessel to hold it in charge, was lying upon the locker which contained it, in the cabin.

He accordingly went below in search of his sword, and was received there by the man in charge in a very rough manner, and ordered off with oaths and imprecations. Captain Packwood attempted to obtain his sword, and a struggle ensued between him

and his men on the one side, and the men of the Liberty on the other. He succeeded at length in getting possession of the sword, and then he and the two men who had come with him rushed to the deck, got into their boat and pushed off toward the shore, taking the prize with them.

The officer from the Liberty, who had followed the men to the deck, ordered his men to fire upon them as they rowed away, and three shots were fired, one from a musket and two from a pair of pistols.

RESENTMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

No one was hurt by the firing, but the people of the town were made so indignant by the act, that a large body of them met and intercepted Captain Reid on the following evening, upon the wharf, and demanded that the man who had fired upon Captain Packwood should be sent on shore and delivered up to the authorities.

Captain Reid was somewhat intimidated by the numbers and excitement of the people, and he promised to comply. He sent out to the sloop and a man was brought on shore. He had selected, on purpose probably, the wrong man.

Captain Packwood declared that this was not the guilty person, and Captain Reid sent for another,

and then another, until nearly all the crew were on shore. The crowd on the wharf then immediately made a rush to the boats and went off to the sloop, and at once proceeded to cut away her cables and set her adrift.

The vessel floated over across the harbor and grounded there upon a shoal. Here the men cut away her mast, threw overboard her armament and stores of war, scuttled her, and then left her to the mercy of the winds and waves.

They took the boats as trophies of their victory back to the town, and when they landed, they attached ropes to them, and dragged them in triumph through the streets. It is said that the keels of the boats were shod with iron, and that so large was the force of men that manned the ropes, and so great the speed at which they raced through the streets with them, that the friction of the keels upon the pavement left a long stream of fire behind them as they were swept along.

The abandoned vessel remained where she had been left, for some days, and then one evening, just after a severe thunder shower, she was discovered to be on fire. She continued to burn for several days until almost entirely consumed.

This affair of the sloop *Liberty* is said to have been the first instance in which there was a direct

attack by any of the people of America upon any authorized and official representative of the sovereign power of Britain, and was thus, as it were, the first overt act of the rebellion. There had been many riots and disturbances, and some acts of violence before ; but they had been directed against private persons, or at least against persons not at the time in the exercise of military or official power. Here, however, was an armed vessel, in the actual service of his majesty, attacked by a mob, captured and destroyed.

THE AFFAIR OF THE GASPEE.

Serious as this affair was, another somewhat analogous to it, but much more serious, occurred in nearly the same place, in the spring of 1772, and which is known as the affair of the Gaspee.

The Gaspee was a schooner armed with eight guns, that was stationed in Narraganset Bay, in company with another vessel named the Beaver, to enforce the revenue laws. Lieutenant Duddingston was the officer in command of her. The people complained that he executed the duties of his office in a very arbitrary and vexatious manner. They said that he practiced every possible annoyance upon vessels in the bay, detaining them often unnecessarily, and when he had no reason whatever

to suspect anything wrong. He even stopped the market-boats which came from the landings along the bay with farm and garden produce for the town. He made seizures when he had no right to do so, and sent the seized vessels sometimes to Boston to be tried, which was contrary to law.

INEFFECTUAL ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE REDRESS.

These complaints became at length so numerous and so urgent that the attention of the government of the colony was called to them, and in the end the governor sent a communication to Lieutenant Duddingston, by the hands of the high sheriff, and a long negotiation ensued, which resulted very unsatisfactorily. The lieutenant resented and resisted the governor's attempt to call him to account and to hold him amenable to law, and he appealed to Admiral Montagu, the officer in command at Boston, who sustained him fully in the position he had taken, and wrote in very imperious terms to the governor, declaring that the officers in command of the revenue vessels on the coast would continue the course they had been pursuing, and that if the people of the colony attempted any open resistance, he would hang them as pirates.

THE GASPEE RUNS AGROUND.

Things were in this state, when one day a vessel

named the Hannah, commanded by Captain Lindsey, in coming from New York to Providence, touched at Newport, and was going on the next day up the bay, when the Gaspee hailed her, and attempted to bring her to. The Hannah, however, passed on, and the Gaspee gave chase, but in passing a certain point which, from this circumstance has since been known as Gaspee Point, she ran aground. The Hannah went on and reached Providence in safety, and immediately Captain Lindsey gave notice there of the dangerous situation that the Gaspee was in. The result was that that night a boat expedition was fitted out from Providence to go down the river and destroy her.*

JOHN BROWN.

The man who took the lead in this first open attempt to organize a military resistance to the power which was threatening to overwhelm the liberties of the country, was named John Brown. He was one of the first and most respectable merchants of Providence. Captain Lindsey, knowing probably his sentiments and his character, went im-

* The situation of these places may be seen upon a map at the commencement of the second chapter of the next volume of this series, or upon any map of Rhode Island.

mediately on his arrival to his counting room, and made known to him the fact that the Gaspee was aground about seven miles below, and that on account of the falling tide she could not get off until after midnight.

PREPARATIONS FOR AN ATTACK ON THE GASPEE.

Mr. Brown immediately resolved upon the destruction of the vessel, and he at once charged one of the shipmasters in his employ to collect eight of the largest long-boats in the harbor, with five oars to each, to have the oars and row-locks muffled to prevent noise, and to place them all at a wharf opposite a certain house of entertainment kept by Mr. Sabin, where the party that was intended to man the boats could conveniently assemble.

Having caused these preparations to be made, Mr. Brown waited until after sunset, and then sent a man about the streets nearest to the shipping to beat a drum, and to inform the people whose attention should be arrested by the drum, that the Gaspee was aground about seven miles below, and to invite all persons who were disposed to join an expedition for going down and destroying her, to repair at nine o'clock to the house of entertainment above referred to.

ACCOUNT GIVEN BY ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE AFFAIR

I will relate the story of the manner in which the party thus organized carried Mr. Brown's plan into effect, in the words substantially of Ephraim Powen, one of the men who was present and took part in the affair.

“ About nine o'clock I took my father's gun and my powderhorn and bullets, and went to Mr. Sabin's, and found the southeast room full of people. Here I loaded my gun and we all remained here until about ten o'clock—some casting bullets in the kitchen, and others making arrangements for departure—when orders were given to cross the street to Fenner's wharf and embark.

“ This we soon did. We had a sea captain on board each boat to act as steersman, of whom I recollect Captain Abraham Whipple, Captain John B. Hopkins, who steered the boat that I was in, and Captain Benjamin Dunn. A line was formed by the boats from right to left, with Captain Whipple on the right.

“ The boats proceeded in this order down the bay, and went on until some time past midnight they reached within about sixty yards of the Gaspee, when a sentinel on board hailed,

“ ‘ Who comes there ?’

“ No answer.

“ He hailed again and no answer In about a minute Duddingston was seen mounted on the starboard gunwale in his night dress, and hailed,

“ ‘ Who comes there ?’

“ No answer.

“ He hailed again, when at length Captain Whipple called out, with a great oath,

“ ‘ I am the sheriff of the county of Kent. I have got a warrant to apprehend you, so surrender.’

“ I took my seat upon the main thwart, near the larboard row-lock facing forwards, and with my gun by my right side. As soon as Duddingston began to hail, Joseph Bucklin, who was standing on the main thwart, by my right side, said to me,

“ ‘ Ephraim, reach me up your gun. I can kill that fellow.’

“ I reached it to him accordingly and then, just as Captain Whipple was replying and calling upon him to surrender, Bucklin fired and Duddingston fell; upon which Bucklin exclaimed,

“ ‘ I have killed the rascal.’

“ In less than a minute after this the boats were alongside the Gaspee, and she was boarded without

opposition. The men on deck retreated below as we came up, and Duddingston was led into the cabin. As soon as we found that he was wounded, one of our men, John Mawney, who had been studying physic and surgery for two or three years, was ordered to go below and dress his wound, and I was directed to go and assist him.

“On the examination, it was found that the ball took effect about five inches directly below the navel. Duddingston called for Mr. Dickinson to produce bandages and other necessities for dressing the wound, and when this was done orders were given to the schooner’s company to collect their clothing and every thing belonging to them, and put them into their boats, as all of them were to be sent on shore. All were soon collected and put on board the boats, including one of our own, and were landed at a wharf in Pawtuxet.

“Soon after this all our party went away in the boats, leaving one boat for the leaders of the expedition who remaining, soon set the vessel on fire, and she was burned to the water’s edge.”

The foregoing account was written by Mr. Bowen in 1839, sixty-seven years after the occurrence of the affair. Mr. Bowen was at this time eighty-six years of age, by which it appears that at the time

BURNING OF THE GASPEE.



of his taking part in the expedition he was at the age of nineteen.

GREAT EXCITEMENT PRODUCED BY THE AFFAIR.

Of course so high-handed a measure as the seizing by force of an armed government vessel, accompanied by the wounding of the commanding officer, the dispersion of the crew, and the destruction of the vessel itself and of everything on board, by a company of private persons, acting without the least color of authority, produced a great and universal excitement. The news of it was received almost everywhere among the colonists with feelings of exultation and triumph; while among all the British officials, high and low, it awakened the utmost astonishment and indignation. Duddingston, whose wound proved to be not very severe, caused a statement of what had occurred to be sent to the admiral at Boston who had command of all the naval force on the coast. He immediately sent an urgent and indignant complaint to the governor of Rhode-Island, calling upon him to take the most vigorous measures for discovering the guilty persons, and for bringing them to immediate punishment. The governor, after some negotiations with the admiral, and consultations with his council, concluded to offer a reward of a sum equal to five

hundred dollars for the discovery of the guilty persons. But nobody came forward to give their testimony.

ROYAL COMMISSION APPOINTED.

When the news of the occurrence reached England the ministry issued what is called a royal commission—that is, a special authority granted to a select body of men, to investigate the affair, and, if possible, to bring the guilty parties to justice. The commissioners appointed were invested with extraordinary powers, and they consisted of some of the most prominent men in America, that were supposed to be in sympathy with the home government, such as governors, and judges of the higher courts in the different colonies. The commission itself, authenticated by the royal signature and seal, was sent out to the admiral, and he communicated it to the governor of Rhode-Island who notified the persons appointed. Their orders were if they could obtain probable evidence against any persons, implicating them in the transaction, to report their names to the governor of Rhode Island who was to arrest the persons thus charged, and send them prisoners to England for trial.

The commissioners met and commenced the work of investigation, which they continued at intervals

for several months; but in the end they came to the conclusion to send a report to his majesty, under whose direct authority they had been appointed and were acting, that they had failed to make any material discovery, and that they believed that the whole affair was conducted so secretly and suddenly, as to make it now nearly impossible to ascertain who the guilty persons were.

AARON BRIGGS.

The only important evidence that was brought forward before the commissioners during these investigations, was that of a mulatto man, a slave, named Aaron Briggs. He was engaged in the expedition, and he afterward ran away from his master and escaped on board the *Beaver*, the consort, as perhaps the reader will recollect, of the *Gaspee*, in guarding the harbor. Here he told the story more or less correctly to the sailors on board, and the captain of the *Beaver* hearing of his revelations, examined him, and finally compelled him to make an affidavit in respect to the persons engaged, and then sent the affidavit to the governor of Rhode Island, with a request that he would cause the persons therein named to be arrested.

But instead of doing this the governor, after proper consultation and enquiry, obtained a number

of affidavits from respectable persons in Providence who testified that Aaron Briggs was an unprincipled fellow notoriously unworthy of belief in respect to any statements that he might make; and these affidavits he sent to the admiral, saying that he did not feel justified in arresting any persons on the unsupported testimony of such a man.

The affidavit of the mulatto was afterward brought before the commissioners, and they, after a full hearing, decided that independently of the character of the deponent, there was proof that the affidavit was *extorted* from him by the captain of the *Beaver*, and was of course not to be received.

Except this poor slave, not one of all the hundreds in Providence who must have known the parties concerned in the affair, came forward to give testimony—although in addition to the reward offered by the governor, other rewards were offered in other ways amounting in all to some thousands of dollars.

ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

In connection with this subject, an anecdote has been preserved relating to Captain Abraham Whipple, who, it will be recollected, was the leader of the expedition of the boats, being put in command of it by John Brown, the merchant with whom the

plan originated, and who made the arrangements, and provided the means for executing it. Sometime after this, when the war of the revolution broke out, this same Captain Whipple commanded a war sloop belonging to Rhode Island, which was engaged in hostilities with a frigate called the *Rose*, under the command of Captain Wallace. Captain Wallace, it seems, had learned that Captain Whipple had been a leader in the capture of the *Gaspee*. In the course of the operations in which they were engaged, it is said that the following correspondence took place.

Captain Wallace wrote first, as follows :

“ You, Abraham Whipple, on the 10th of June, 1772, burned his majesty’s vessel the *Gaspee*, and I will hang you at the yard-arm.”

Captain Whipple sent the following reply.

“ TO SIR JAMES WALLACE .

“ SIR,—Always catch a man before you hang him.

“ ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.”

Captain Whipple was very soon after this placed in command, as commodore, of two vessels of war

armed and equipped for the defense of Rhode Island. They were called the Washington and the Katy. This unpretending squadron was the commencement of the American navy.

The fitting out of this little squadron, however, and the connection of Captain Whipple with it, are stated here in anticipation, as these things did not take place until the breaking out of the revolution in 1775, two or three years after the destruction of the Gaspee.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

The next popular outbreak of sufficient importance to attract general attention was the one known in history as the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor—though the affair is often designated as the Boston Tea Party. The exploit, for some reason or other, produced a more widely extended and more continued excitement than the destruction of the Gaspee ; although the latter really required a far higher degree of resolution and daring on the part of the men engaged in it. The circumstances which led to the destruction of the tea were these.

INGENIOUS CONTRIVANCE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR INDUCING THE COLONIES TO SUBMIT TO BE TAXED.

The reader will recollect, perhaps, that on ac-

count of the decided attitude of resistance to the policy of the mother country, which the colonies were assuming, and the frequent disturbances and difficulties which began to arise, the government repealed the duties on the five articles of glass, lead, paints, paper and tea excepting those on the last, and that this duty they made very small. Their policy was to reduce the actual amount of the taxation to so small a measure as to make it practically insignificant, while yet in theory it sustained the principle. They imagined that by this plan they could so weaken the opposition to their measures that they could go on with the small impost for a while, till the excitement had passed away, and everything had become quiet, when they could gradually increase and extend the taxation again, slowly, cautiously, and perhaps covertly, and so avoid awakening the opposition a second time.

THE PLAN DOES NOT SUCCEED.

But the Americans understood this policy as well as they did, and set themselves at work resolutely to resist it, by forming combinations against the purchase of tea, and even against allowing any merchants to import it or to keep it for sale, and by other similar measures. These measures were so successful that the market for tea in America

was almost entirely cut off from the English merchants of the East India Company, by whom the tea was imported from China. The company, however, supposing as they did that this interruption to the trade would be only temporary, continued to import tea, and the result was, after the lapse of some months, that the article began to accumulate in enormous quantities in their vast warehouses in London, and the merchants found themselves greatly straightened and distressed.

ANOTHER VERY INGENIOUS SCHEME ADOPTED.

The government now fell upon another very ingenious scheme for surmounting the difficulty in which they and the East India Company were alike involved, which was to remit the *export* duty on the tea. According to the law as it then stood, the tea was subject to a large duty, when it was taken from the warehouses of the company to be exported to foreign countries. This duty the company of course added to the price which they charged for the tea, and this addition considerably enhanced the cost to the foreign consumer. The government now conceived the idea of *remitting* for a time this duty, while they still retained the American tax. The remitting of the export duty would so reduce the price in America, that the Americans could

pay the small tax required of them, and yet purchase their tea cheaper than ever before, which circumstance they thought would disarm the opposition entirely. The friends of the government in America would say to the people, "How senseless it is in you to deprive yourselves of what has become one of the great necessities of life for you, on account of a petty nominal tax, when the tax is accompanied by another measure which makes your tea cost you less than it ever did before!"

Accordingly the company immediately shipped a large quantity of tea to the different ports in America—to Boston, to New York, to Philadelphia, and to Charleston.

DISPOSITION MADE OF THE TEA SENT TO THE MORE SOUTHERN PORTS.

When the ship sent to Charleston arrived, the people had a meeting and took the cargo of tea under their own charge. They allowed it to be landed, but required it to be stored in a place by itself, where a strong guard was set over it. Either by accident or design the place selected was damp, and the tea was kept in it until it was totally spoiled.

In New York and Philadelphia the persons to whom the tea was consigned, were compelled to

refuse to receive it, and it was accordingly sent back to England.

THE BOSTON CONSIGNEES CALLED UPON TO RESIGN.

The merchants in Boston to whom the cargoes destined for that port were consigned, were not so manageable. They could not be induced to refuse to receive the tea. Various public and private meetings of citizens were held, and at length one morning in November, just before day, a violent knocking was heard at the doors of the consignees, and on going to the door the several parties received a notification summoning them to appear the next day at noon, under the Liberty Tree; and there publicly to resign their commissions.

At the same time there were posted placards throughout the town, containing the following notification.

“ To the Freemen of this and the Neighboring Towns.


“ GENTLEMEN,

“ You are desired to meet at the Liberty Tree this day at twelve o’clock at noon, then and there to hear the persons to whom the tea shipped by the East India Company, is consigned, make a public resignation of their office as consignees, upon oath

—and also swear that they will reship any teas that may be consigned to them by the said company by the first vessel sailing for London.

“ O. C., Secretary.

“ Boston, Nov. 3d, 1773.

“  Show us the men who will dare take this notice down.”

THE MEETING AT THE LIBERTY TREE.

Early in the morning a large flag was hung out from the pole at the tree. The bells rang for an hour before the time of the meeting, and the town crier went through the streets calling upon the people to assemble. About five hundred persons came together—but the consignees did not appear.

SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

It was rumored at the meeting that the consignees were all assembled at a store in King Street belonging to one of the principal tea-importing firms, and the meeting appointed a committee to proceed there and wait upon them, and ascertain what they intended to do. The meeting also resolved to accompany this committee in mass, partly from the impatience of the people to know the result, and partly to make their demonstration the more imposing.

The committee were received by the consignees at the store, and some negotiations took place, but without leading to anything satisfactory. The people became very much excited, but they were at length in some degree quieted, and induced to disperse without doing any serious damage.

TOWN MEETING CALLED.

The next day a regular town meeting was held. There, after some earnest debate, most decided resolutions were adopted against submitting to the proposed tax, and another committee was appointed to wait upon the consignees, and to make a fresh demand upon them in the name of the town.

The meeting then adjourned to the afternoon to give the committee an opportunity to perform the duty assigned them.

At the re-assembling of the meeting in the afternoon the committee reported that they had conferred with the consignees, but could not induce them to refuse receiving the tea. On the contrary they sent in replies to the demand which had been made upon them, which were voted by the meeting to be "daringly affrontive to the town."

INCREASE OF EXCITEMENT.

Of course these proceedings, and the failure of

the efforts made to induce the consignees to yield greatly increased the excitement. The tea had not yet arrived, but the coming of the vessels into the harbor, might be expected at any time ; and during the interval the agitation of the people of the town, and the preparations for adopting decisive measures against the consignees, seemed daily to increase.

EVENING PARTY AT THE HOUSE OF A CONSIGNEE.

There was a certain mercantile firm—th · Messrs Clarke, whose feelings and sympathies, it seems, were strongly on the British side, and who had taken special pains to have a portion of the tea consigned to them, and they had some time previously sent out a young man to England—one of their clerks—to make application to the company for it. This young man now returned, having successfully accomplished his mission. A voyage to Europe in those days was a much more serious affair than it is now, and when their clerk arrived, one of the firm, who lived in a handsome house in School Street, gave a party in honor of his safe return from so long a voyage, after having successfully accomplished his enterprise.

In the evening, while the party thus assembled were in the midst of their hilarity and enjoyment, there suddenly appeared in the street, before the

house, a mob of wild and excited men, who began to thump upon the door, and to create all possible disturbance by whistling, shouting, blowing of horns, uttering cat-calls, and making every conceivable outlandish noise. They crowded into the yard and up to the windows of the house, and seemed on the eve of actually assaulting the building and carrying it by storm.

The ladies were of course greatly frightened. They were immediately all conveyed away from the front rooms by the gentlemen, and hid in dark closets and obscure passages. One of the gentlemen then went up to the story above and opening the window there, he warned the rioters to disperse. They replied by throwing stones at him. He then discharged a pistol over their heads, which only increased the tumult, and for a few minutes the affair threatened to become very serious.

But some well-disposed person of the town, in whom the leaders of the mob seemed to have confidence, soon appeared, and after a while succeeded, though with great difficulty and after much delay, in inducing the people to disperse.

FLIGHT OF THE CONSIGNEES FROM THE TOWN.

The consignees now began to feel seriously alarmed, but they were still determined not to yield

to the pressure. So they made a formal appeal to the governor and council for protection. The excitement still continued and grew daily more and more threatening, and a day or two after they had made their appeal to the governor they all suddenly disappeared from the town, and it was soon ascertained that a fleet of tea, arrived in the harbor. The news produced intense excitement throughout the town. The people would not call a public meeting on the Sabbath, but the selectmen came together to adopt some preliminary measures. They attempted to obtain an interview with the consignees, but they were not to be found. As has already been stated, they had sought refuge at the castle.

Measures were then immediately taken for calling a meeting of the people on the following day. Accordingly, early on Monday morning, bills were found posted everywhere along the streets, calling upon the people to assemble in Faneuil Hall at nine o'clock, at which time the bells would be rung to give notice. At the appointed time a very large number of persons came together.

PUBLIC MEETING ON MONDAY.

The proceedings were commenced by the bringing forward of a resolution that the tea which had arrived in the harbor should be sent back whence it came, at all hazards. This resolution was passed, but as it was found that the hall was not large enough to contain the multitudes that were crowding to the meeting, not only from Boston itself, but from all the surrounding towns, it was voted to adjourn to the Old South Church—or rather to the South Meeting-house, for that was the name by which the edifice was then known.

Faneuil Hall, which has since been greatly enlarged, so that now it will contain an immense assemblage, was then a building of moderate size, being intended only for the accommodation of the ordinary town meetings.

The proceedings which had been commenced at the hall were continued at the meeting-house, and resolutions were passed demanding in the most decided manner of the consignees that they should send the tea immediately back to England, and that, too, without paying any duty upon it whatever in the port of Boston.

The meeting then adjourned to the afternoon, in order to give time to the consignees to return their answer.

In the afternoon, the consignees sent a message by a friend that they could not give their answer until the next day, and asked indulgence of the meeting for the delay.

The meeting voted to grant the delay asked for, and resolved to adjourn until the next morning at nine o'clock.

The assembly, however, before adjourning, voted to send a peremptory order to Captain Hall, the master of the ship containing the tea, requiring him not to land the tea, saying that if he did so it would be at his peril. A watch also was appointed of twenty-five persons to keep guard by night on the wharf, to prevent the secret landing of the tea under cover of darkness.

MEETING ON TUESDAY.

On Tuesday the meeting was again convened to hear the answer of the consignees. Their answer was that on looking into their instructions from the East India Company, they found that they had no authority to send back the tea; but they were willing to land and store it, and not offer it for sale until they could write to the company and receive further orders from them.

PROCLAMATION FROM THE GOVERNOR.

Of course this answer was entirely unsatisfactory,

and immediately after it was received, a person appeared in the meeting, saying that he had in his hand a proclamation from the governor. He was the sheriff. A vote was passed giving him permission to read the proclamation. The purport of it proved to be a denunciation of the meeting as a lawless and riotous assembly, and an order for the persons composing it immediately to disperse.

This summons was received with hisses and derisive laughter, and after it was read, the meeting proceeded with the transaction of the business before it, without paying any regard to the momentary interruption.

DEFFINITE MEASURES ADOPTED.

The measures adopted at this and the preceding meetings were these :

First, the issuing of a peremptory order to the owner of the ship, who was a Boston merchant—a member of the Society of Friends, named Rotch—forbidding him to discharge the rest of his cargo, but requiring him to retain the tea on board and to carry it back to England, on the return voyage of the vessel. The time allowed him for doing this was twenty days. The reason for this particular limit will be explained in the sequel.

Secondly, the institution of a watch of twenty-

five persons to keep guard every night at Griffin's wharf, where the ship containing the tea lay, to prevent its being landed clandestinely. If this watch should be in any way interfered with or molested in the night, the alarm was to be given and the bells rung, that the people might assemble to protect them.

Thirdly, the organization of a regular system of communication with the interior towns of the province through a Committee of Correspondence, consisting of a number of the most prominent and influential men in Boston, appointed for the purpose. This committee were to correspond with similar committees, that had been or were to be appointed in all the neighboring towns, so as to be ready to act in concert with them in any sudden emergency. And in the meantime they were to carry into effect the measures which the people had resolved upon.

Six persons were appointed as post-riders to carry the communications of the committee to and fro, and especially to be ready at a moment's notice to ride to all the neighboring towns to give the alarm, in case of any attempt being made to interfere with the watch, or to land the tea.

▲ FORTNIGHT OF SUSPENSE AND NEGOTIATION.

These measures having been taken, the meeting adjourned, leaving the whole business in the hands of the committee of correspondence until the twenty days allowed to Mr. Rotch for discharging the rest of his cargo and proceeding to sea with the tea should have expired. About a fortnight of this allotted period still remained. During this time two other consignments of tea arrived, in two other vessels—the *Eleanor*, commanded by Captain Bruce, and the *Beaver*, Captain Coffin. The coming in of these vessels renewed in some measure the excitement in town, but the committee of correspondence immediately gave directions to the masters and owners of them to cause them to be brought to Griffin's wharf, where the *Dartmouth* was lying, in order that all the cargoes could be watched by the same guard.

The guard, in addition to a strong force at the wharf, stationed armed sentinels all over the town, who called out the time every half hour during the night, like military sentinels on duty, thus :

“ Half past twelve o'clock, and all's well ! ”

These solemn calls, heard all through the night, tended greatly to impress the people with a sense

of the momentous character of the crisis, and to extend and deepen the prevailing excitement.

The days passed on, and every one waited with intense anxiety to know whether the tea would be sent away within the allotted time. During all this time a great many negotiations were taking place among the various parties concerned, which only seemed, however, to involve the affair in greater and greater intricacy and complication.

DIFFICULTIES AND COMPLICATIONS OF THE AFFAIR.

It might seem at first view that the question of sending the tea back to England again, was a very simple one, and could have been very easily decided in one way or the other ; but in fact, the circumstances connected with the case made it really very complicated. To take the case of the Dartmouth, for example. The ship belonged to Mr. Rotch, whose only interest was to get rid of the tea in some way or other, and so recover the undisturbed possession of his vessel. He was desirous of landing the tea, but the watch set upon the wharf would not allow him to land it. He then expressed his willingness to take the tea back to London, on his next voyage ; but the custom-house authorities declared that they would not give him what is called a clearance—that is, a written certificate that all

the requisitions of the custom-house had been complied with—until the tea was landed, and without such a clearance, no vessel was permitted to go to sea. Any one attempting it would be stopped by the guns of the castle.

If he were to attempt to slip by the castle in the night, or in a fog, without a clearance, then his ship could not enter any foreign port, but was liable to be seized and forfeited wherever found.

Besides, Admiral Montagu, who, as perhaps the reader will recollect, commanded the naval force on the coast, anticipating an attempt on the part of the Bostonians to get the ship to sea with the tea on board, stationed two armed vessels at the mouth of the harbor to intercept and perhaps sink her if she made the attempt. The guns of the castle too were loaded, and strict orders given to watch closely and not allow the vessel to pass.

In the mean time, if the owner failed to perform the duties required of him by the custom-house rules, among which were the obligation to land all his cargo and pay the duties on it, within twenty days after its arrival, his ship was liable to be seized and forfeited, for violation of the revenue laws.

Thus the time given him as his limit, on the one hand, by the custom-house officers for discharging

his cargo, and on the other, by the committee of correspondence for taking it to sea again was the same. and as this limit drew near its close, Mr. Rotch found himself in a situation of the greatest perplexity and distress. The guard on the wharf would not allow him to discharge the tea, and the custom-house authorities would not allow him to go to sea with it on board ; and if he remained with it where he was for a few days more, the vessel would be seized and confiscated and he would be ruined.

It was the same with the owners of the other two vessels, only as their vessels came in later than the Dartmouth, their twenty days would not expire so soon, and they were content to wait and see how the case of the first consignment that came in would be decided.

FINAL EFFORT TO PROCURE A CLEARANCE FOR THE SHIP.

Under these circumstances, the committee proposed to go to the commissioners of the customs and demand a clearance, and if it were refused, then to enter a formal protest, and go and demand a pass for the ship from the governor. If he should refuse, the last hope of an amicable solution of the difficulty would disappear, and it would then be time to consider at once what ulterior measures should be pursued.

The people made this plan known to Mr. Rotch, and demanded of him to proceed at once in carrying it into effect. He was very reluctant to take such a step as to demand a pass from the governor, but the committee brought so heavy a pressure upon him that he was compelled to yield.

The twentieth day—the last one of the period allowed for discharging the tea—would come on Thursday, the 16th of December. On Tuesday, the 14th, Mr. Rotch, accompanied by a committee of ten of the principal citizens as witnesses, went to the collector of the customs to make a formal and final demand for a clearance for the vessel.

The collector on receiving the demand said that he could not give an answer until the next morning.

The committee concluded to grant this delay.

At ten o'clock the next morning, Mr. Rotch, accompanied by the ten witnesses, went again to the custom-house and asked for the answer. They were met there by the principal officers of the establishment, who informed them that they had come to a decision, unequivocally and finally, not to give any clearance to the ship until she should have discharged the teas.

The news of this result spread rapidly through the town, and greatly increased the excitement

Preparations were made for a mass meeting on the morning of the following day—the last of the days of grace.

MASS-MEETING ON THE LAST DAY.

The meeting assembled at an early hour. The committee appointed to accompany Mr. Rotch reported that the custom-house authorities had absolutely refused a clearance.

The meeting then resolved that Mr. Rotch should make a formal protest against this decision, under the usual legal forms, and then at once proceed to call upon Governor Hutchinson and demand a pass, in virtue of his superior authority as governor of the province. The meeting then adjourned until three o'clock in the afternoon, to allow time for these steps to be taken.

THE AFTERNOON MEETING.

When the vast assembly, the most numerous, it is said, that had ever been held in Boston, came together in the afternoon, Mr. Rotch did not appear. It was stated, however, that he had made his protest, and had gone in search of the governor, but found that he had left town. The governor had gone out to his country seat in Milton, probably on purpose to be out of the way.

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON.

Hutchinson had spent his life in seeking to deserve and secure the favor of the English ministry by aiding them in every way to extend and establish the control of the mother country over the colonies,—in hopes that in the end he might be rewarded by being made a British peer ; which is the usual recompense of those who have rendered distinguished services to the party in power. But in order the more successfully to accomplish this very end it was necessary that he should do as little as possible to impair his influence over his countrymen in America. So he worked a great deal secretly and in the dark, and while in America he seemed very friendly to the cause of his countrymen, he wrote private letters to England denouncing their proceedings and their leaders. Thus while he was secretly acting in the interest of the British government, he avoided every occasion for doing any thing openly to displease the people of the province.

Accordingly, though he was determined not to give a pass to the vessel, in this case, he wished very much to avoid the odium of refusing one, and so he attempted to keep himself out of the way.

Mr. Rotch, however, was conveyed by post with

great speed to Milton, found the governor, and compelled him to take his stand. Thus brought to the necessity of choosing, the governor seems to have concluded it to be best for him to run the risk of offending his countrymen, rather than to displease the English ministry, and endanger his expected peerage. He refused the pass.

Mr. Rotch made all haste back to the meeting in order to report the result.

THE MEETING IN THE EVENING.

He did not get back till nearly six. The meeting house had been dimly lighted for nearly an hour, with lamps and candles such as could be brought in. During the interval which had elapsed speeches had been made, all of the most decided and determined character,—but still all presenting the most serious and solemn views of the impending crisis.

When at length Mr. Rotch made his appearance, and gave in his report that the governor refused to grant a pass, the venerable Samuel Adams arose and said that he did not see that that meeting could do anything more to save the country.

SUDDEN BREAKING UP OF THE MEETING.

It seems that this result had been fully antici-

pated, and the arrangements for immediate action had all been previously made. For no sooner had Mr. Adams uttered those words, than a yell like the warhoop of an Indian was heard in one of the galleries, and was answered by similar cries at the door. The meeting was of course thrown at once into a state of great excitement and confusion. The man in the gallery was observed to be disguised as an Indian, as were also those at the doors. In the midst of the confusion voices were heard crying,

“To Griffin’s Wharf! to Griffin’s Wharf! Boston Harbor for a tea-pot to-night!”

Amidst these and similar shouts and cries the people crowded to the doors and passed out into the street, and vast numbers of them, following the Indians, poured through the streets in a torrent in the direction of the wharf.

Many persons were not content to go as spectators. They ran into shops on the way, blackened their faces hastily with soot or charcoal, turned their caps inside out, and covered their shoulders with old blankets or anything else that they could lay their hands upon.

Even those who had prepared themselves beforehand, were very imperfectly, but yet very oddly disguised. They had discolored their faces in various ways, stuck feathers into their hats and

caps, clothed themselves in old frocks, gowns, red woollen caps, and wore various pieces of stuff as substitutes for blankets over their shoulders. Many of them were armed with hatchets and axes.

Numbers of people joined the party without assuming any disguise at all.

DESTRUCTION OF THE TEA.

As soon as the party arrived at the wharf, they set a strong guard to prevent being interrupted, and then immediately took possession of the three vessels—which it will be recollected, had all been brought to Griffin's Wharf—and commenced at once the work of hoisting up the chests of tea, breaking them open, and pouring the contents over the side into the sea.

They went to their work in a very deliberate and systematic manner, it seems, for before going on board the vessels they divided themselves regularly into three parties, with a captain, and also a boatswain—whose business it was to give the necessary calls and signals for lowering and hoisting—for each vessel.

In one of the vessels—and the proceedings were much the same in the others—the captain of the party on going on board, sent a man down into the cabin to the mate, who was the officer in command,

to ask politely for a few lights and the keys of the hatches, in order, as he said, that they might do as little damage to the vessel as possible.

The mate at once gave up the keys, and also sent his cabin-boy to procure a bunch of candles which, when obtained, were immediately put in use, and the work was begun.

The crews of the vessels did not in any case attempt to make any resistance. In fact several of the sailors assisted in hoisting the chests up from the hold.

It was estimated that there were nearly a hundred and fifty persons engaged in the work, only the principal leaders, twenty or twenty-five in all, being disguised. They worked industriously, but so great was the quantity of tea—three hundred and forty chests in all—that it took three hours to hoist up and dispose of the whole.

Of course, during the operation, a great deal of tea was spilled upon the decks and trampled under foot, and it seems that some of the party conceived the idea that there would be no sin in their gathering up a portion of this waste, to carry home as a present to their wives or mothers, or to preserve as a souvenir of the transaction. Such attempts were favored by the obscurity of the night, notwithstanding the light of the moon, and of the candles that

were flaring here and there about the decks and on the bulwarks.

But these attempts did not succeed. All suspicious movements of this kind were closely watched, and several persons who had succeeded in filling their pockets were seized and very roughly handled. Some of them had the portion of their clothes containing the pocket, or the recess, which had been filled with tea, cut or torn away without any ceremony, and thrown into the water, that all might go together out to sea.

Thus the work of destruction was accomplished in the most thorough manner. The next morning, it is said, a long line of tea was seen floating in the water, extending from the wharves down the harbor toward the castle, as it was slowly carried away by the tide.

The excitement continued for several days, and in all the towns along the shores of the harbor, and for some distance into the interior, a close watch was kept for tea which might, by any possibility, either of accident or design, have been saved; and in several instances, parcels and packages to which suspicion attached were seized by the people and publicly destroyed.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BOSTON PORT BILL.

EXCITEMENT IN ENGLAND.

THE destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, as related in the last chapter, took place about the middle of December, 1773. Very full accounts of the affair, as well as of all the preliminary proceedings, which were of such a nature as in some degree to implicate the whole population of Boston and vicinity in the act, reached England early in the spring, and of course produced a very profound sensation. The ministry were filled with resentment and indignation, and the national pride even among the people, was aroused, and began to assume a very decided attitude.

“Can it be possible,” thought they, “that the inhabitants of a petty provincial town, three thousand miles removed from all the rest of the civilized world, can seriously think of braving and resisting the power of the British empire?”

THE PORT BILL.

The ministry very soon resolved upon a series of

measures for punishing the town of Boston for the audacious act of which it had been guilty, and reducing the province to subordination.

The measure intended for the punishment of Boston was the closing of the port entirely, by forbidding the entrance of any ships from the sea, and also the removal of the legislature, the courts, and all the public business of the province of every kind away from the town. The measure would thus operate to suspend, and if long enough continued, to destroy the commerce, and so far as possible, all the business of the town, and consequently to deprive the mass of the people of all possible means of gaining a livelihood.

In order to introduce this measure with sufficient solemnity, the ministers drew up a message to be sent by the king to parliament, giving parliament formal and official notice of the destruction of the tea, and calling upon that body to adopt at once such vigorous measures as the occasion demanded for maintaining the authority of the government and the majesty of the laws.

About a week afterward, they brought forward in parliament a bill embodying the first of the series of measures which they proposed to adopt, which was the closing of the port of Boston, and without any serious difficulty carried it through both houses

In all such cases as these it must be understood that although in form the king calls upon his parliament to adopt such measures as in their wisdom they judge the case requires, and parliament in response to the call frame and pass the bill, it is really the ministry that act, since they draw up and put into the hands of his majesty the call, and they also frame and carry through the bill. Thus both the call and the response are their work, though it is still true—and this is a very important consideration—that they cannot do this work without having the deliberate sanction and approval of the king for one portion of it, and of parliament for the other.

PERIOD DURING WHICH THE HARBOR OF BOSTON WAS TO
REMAIN CLOSED.

The bill provided that the harbor should remain closed during the pleasure of the king—that is, of the king in *form*, but of the ministers in fact. In other words, although parliament closed the port, they gave the ministers authority to open it again, in the name of the king, whenever they should be satisfied that the end sought for had been attained. The ministers declared plainly what would satisfy them and induce them to open the port again. What they should require, they said, was first, that

the people of Boston should make compensation for the tea that had been destroyed—and secondly, that they should otherwise satisfy the king of their sincere purpose thereafter to render due submission to his government.

OTHER MEASURES ADOPTED FOR BRINGING THE COLONY UNDER CONTROL.

The Boston Port Bill was one of a system of measures which the ministry had resolved upon adopting, to meet the emergency; for finding that the spirit of the people was in some degree aroused, they determined to avail themselves of this opportunity for effectually subduing the refractory spirit which had so long prevailed among the people, and for bringing the colony, once for all, under complete and permanent control. There were three of these measures, and they were all brought into Parliament, in rapid succession, and readily passed. The second of these three measures was an act remodelling the executive government of the colony.

REMODELLING OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

By this second measure it was enacted that the governor's council, the members of which had hitherto been appointed by the colony, while the

governor himself was appointed by the king, should themselves also henceforth be appointed by the king, and that the judges, sheriffs, and all other important executive officers should be appointed by the governor. Even the jurymen of the courts, who had hitherto been elected by the people, were now to be appointed by the sheriff, who was himself to be appointed by the governor, and the governor by the king—that is by the ministers. Thus on this new system the ministers in England held in their hands directly or indirectly the absolute control of all the executive and judicial administration of the province, and could manage everything, even to the trial of accused persons in the courts, just as they pleased.

It was even provided that no town-meetings could be held, without a special license in writing from the royal governor, and no business transacted, or even discussed, at any meeting, unless it was especially included and specified in the license.

All these changes were, as the colonists maintained, in direct and palpable violation of the charter of the colony which had been solemnly granted and confirmed to them by the British crown—and thus constituted a divestiture of the people of the province, and a seizure by the king, of powers and

privileges which his ancestors had most formally and irrevocably conferred upon them.

PROVISION FOR CONVEYING ACCUSED PERSONS OUT OF THE
COLONY FOR TRIAL.

The third and last of the system of measures, was an act, providing that whenever any future disturbances in the province should occur, if any persons who had aided the governor, or any of the magistrates under him, to execute the laws, should be charged afterward in the colony with murder or any other capital offence, in consequence of his so aiding the magistrate, the governor should be authorized, if he thought best, to send them to any other colony, or to England for trial.

This was of course intended to make the friends and partisans of the government in America, reckless,—or as the ministry would have said, resolute, in resisting, and, if necessary, firing upon the mob, in case of any future disturbances, by assuring them that, if they should be charged with crime in consequence of such action, and be in danger of being brought to punishment by the colonial authorities, they could be taken out their hands and conveyed to England, where the trial would be a mere empty ceremony.

EFFECT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THESE MEASURES IN
AMERICA.

The news of the enactment of these measures arrived in America some weeks before the appointed time for carrying them into execution. The effect was a general feeling of resentment and indignation, not merely in Boston and in Massachusetts, but throughout all the colonies. The measures were all denounced in unmeasured terms in public meetings, and by the press, throughout the land.

“By the first,” they said, “the closing of the port of Boston, thousands of innocent persons are robbed of their livelihood for the act of a very few individuals. The second—the re-modelling of the government, annihilates our chartered rights and liberties. And the third provides for the destroying of our lives with impunity.”

APPOINTMENT OF A NEW GOVERNOR.

The ministry were of course aware of the spirit of resistance which the announcement of these measures would necessarily arouse in America, and of the necessity of making efficient arrangements for meeting it. The first step which they adopted was to appoint a new governor in the place of Hutchinson, who was removed from office ostensibly

that he might proceed to London, and give the ministry there the benefit of his experience and his knowledge of the country, and of his advice. Gen. Gage, the commander-in-chief of the military forces in America, and at that time having his headquarters in New York, was appointed governor in his place.

This appointment was of itself a sufficient notification to the people of Massachusetts, that the government were intending to take hold of the work of reducing them to subjugation with a strong hand.

RECEPTION OF GOVERNOR GAGE IN BOSTON.

The appointment of Governor Gage, however, notwithstanding the threatening attitude on the part of the British government, which it seemed to imply, was not at first objected to in Boston. Hutchinson had rendered himself so exceedingly unpopular among his countrymen, that they were glad on any terms to have him removed.

Gen. Gage arrived in Boston by sea, from New York, about the middle of May, 1774. The people made arrangements to give him a cordial reception. He landed at Long Wharf, where great crowds assembled to welcome him, and to escort him through the streets. He made an address in which he assumed a very conciliatory and friendly tone,

and spoke indulgently and apologetically of the recent disturbances—expressing the opinion that the accounts of them had been greatly exaggerated. In a word, he made a very favorable impression upon the people, and they dispersed at the close of the day with great hopes that the prospect for the future was brightening—at any rate with the determination to give the new governor a fair trial.

That night, however, a crowd of men and boys assembled, and after various other demonstrations, burnt Governor Hutchinson in effigy in the streets.

ARRIVAL OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE PASSAGE OF THE
PORT BILL.

These incipient indications, however, of returning good will proved very transient and fallacious, for it was the same vessel that conveyed the governor to New York, which also brought in the intelligence of the passage of the Boston Port Bill, and scarcely had the ceremonies of reception been concluded before these terrible tidings were promulgated, and the people of Boston saw the ruin of the town and the poverty and distress of the great mass of the population immediately impending. The act was to go into effect on the 1st of June, and it was now the middle of May.

EFFECT OF THE INTELLIGENCE UPON THE COUNTRY AT LARGE.

Of course the news awakened the greatest excitement, and in many minds produced a feeling of utter consternation. The tidings were spread as rapidly as the imperfect communications and slow modes of transmission existing in those days, allowed, throughout the country. The effect of the intelligence was not to overawe or intimidate the people, but rather to increase the resentment against the government, and to make the spirit of resistance that had been rising, more concentrated and more determined than ever.

Meetings were held in the other colonies, especially in the large towns on the Atlantic sea-board, at which resolutions were passed evincing a disposition to make common cause with the people of Boston, and recommending measures for forming some kind of union or combination, by which all the colonies might coöperate in a general system of resistance. Such of the legislatures which happened to be in session at the time, began to take action looking to the same result, though the royal governors, as soon as they discovered such intentions, hastened to prevent their being carried into effect, by suddenly dissolving the assembly that entertained them. In their opinion any combina-

tion of the different colonies to resist the government of the king was treason.

The excitement thus produced in Massachusetts and throughout the country, was increased by the successive arrivals from England, bringing news of the passage through Parliament of the other enactments already specified, namely the second one, changing the system of government for the colony, with a view to the transfer of the whole executive and judicial power to the ministry in England, and the third, providing for the removal to England for trial, persons who should kill any of the colonists in attempting to put down a riot or an insurrection.

ARRIVAL OF THE FATAL DAY.

The first of June, the appointed day at length arrived. Proclamation was made that from and after that time no vessels of any kind would be allowed to enter the harbor. Men-of-war were stationed at the mouth of the harbor to add their guns to those of the castle to enforce the order. A fortnight more, however, was allowed for vessels still remaining in the harbor to leave, after which both ingress and egress were to be alike forbidden.

The legislature was adjourned and ordered to meet next at Sale a. The courts too were appointed

to be thenceforth holden there, and preparations were at once made for removing the public archives, the records of the courts and all the appointments, papers and documents of the custom-house, and all the public offices of every kind.

The people witnessed these proceedings with a mingled feeling of fierce resentment and anxious foreboding. All the business of the town, except such as could be carried on indirectly through the neighboring ports of Salem and Marblehead, was destroyed at a blow. Everybody perceived at once that this would result very soon in cutting off all means of employment and of support, from a very large portion of the community. The wealthy would be reduced to comparative poverty, for of course the rents, whether of houses, wharves or stores, and the income from almost every species of invested property must be almost annihilated—while the poorer classes whose daily bread depended on their daily labor, which in its turn depended on the daily movement of business in the town, saw absolute want, for themselves, their wives, and their little ones, closely impending.

The day was ushered in, at Boston, by tolling of the bells and by other signals and tokens of suffering and sorrow. At noon all places of business were closed, and the afternoon was devoted to va-

rious religious and other ceremonies to mark the solemnity of the occasion.

SYMPATHY OF OTHER COLONIES WITH MASSACHUSETTS.

All the other colonies felt a deep sympathy with Massachusetts, and evinced an unwavering determination to make common cause with her in resisting the British encroachments on her rights. The Virginia house of representatives, or burgesses as they were called, passed a resolution, that the First of June should be set apart by the members as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in order devoutly to implore the divine interposition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war—and to give them one heart and one mind firmly to oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights.

The royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, on hearing of the passage of this resolution, immediately dissolved the assembly, whereupon a meeting was called of the members in their private capacity, and a public declaration was drawn up and signed by them, individually, protesting that an attack made upon one of the sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack

upon all, and must be met by the joint and united action of all.

The feeling in most of the other colonies was substantially the same, and from all quarters the most earnest assurances of sympathy and promises of coöperation, were sent to Boston.

MATERIAL AID FOR THE PEOPLE OF BOSTON.

Many of the towns were not satisfied to send mere words of encouragement. Considerable quantities of wheat and other articles of food were sent in from the interior, and several pretty large contributions in money. Some of these contributions came from a great distance. The colony of Georgia, the most remote of all, sent forward sixty-three barrels of rice, and over seven hundred dollars in money—for the relief of the sufferers.

MAGNANIMOUS CONDUCT OF SALEM AND MARBLEHEAD.

The two harbors nearest to Boston were those of Salem and Marblehead, and those two towns would of course derive a considerable advantage from the closing of the port of Boston, by taking the business themselves so far as it could be transferred to other ports. The ministry counted much upon the effect which they supposed the interests of these rival towns would produce, in fomenting divisions

among the people of the colony, and preventing any earnest and general opposition to the measure. "Salem and Marblehead," thought they, "will be pleased at having the prosperity of their great rival transferred to them; and their influence, and that of the populations immediately around them will prevent any decided concert of action to resist the measure."

But they mistook entirely the spirit of the people of these towns. The people of Salem held a meeting, and addressed a memorial to Governor Gage, protesting against the shutting up of Boston, and in the course of it they said,

"By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit. But nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and even were it otherwise, we must be lost to every idea of justice, and dead to all the feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought of raising our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors."

The people of Marblehead offered a still more substantial proof of their firmness and magnanimity. They offered to the Boston merchants the use of their harbor, their wharves and warehouses, and

even of their personal services in unloading and storing goods free of all expense.

ORGANIZATION OF A CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

The general assembly of Massachusetts, which had always been held in Boston, was removed, as has already been said, to Salem. As soon as they came together in Salem, they immediately commenced the discussion of a plan for organizing a general congress, to be composed of delegates from all the colonies, to meet at some central point and arrange measures for the common defence of the whole country against the encroachments of the home government. They commenced the transaction of this business with closed doors, knowing very well that the governor would interpose if he should in any way hear of the treasonable work which they were engaged in.

One of the members, however, who belonged to the British party, pretended to be sick, and was allowed to leave the chamber. He hastened at once to the governor, and informed him of what was going on. The governor immediately despatched a messenger with a proclamation from him dissolving the assembly. The house, however, aware of the danger of such an interruption, ordered the doorkeepers to close the doors, and to give no an-

swer to any application for admission. The result was, that the governor's messenger knocked and summoned in vain, until the business was completed. Then he was admitted, the proclamation was received and the assembly was dissolved, after the mischief had been done.

What had been done was the passage of a resolution recommending the assembling of a congress to be composed of delegates from all the provinces at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, and the appointment of five of the most distinguished citizens of Massachusetts to attend it as delegates from that colony.

CHAPTER X.

W A R .

PREPARATIONS.

It began now to be evident to all parties concerned, that the temper and disposition manifested on both sides were such that the contest must soon lead to open war, and both the government and the people of the colonies proceeded at once to make their preparations. General Gage began to assemble troops in Boston, bringing them in cautiously, a small body at a time, so as not too strongly to attract public attention to his movements. He experienced the greatest difficulty, however, in providing barracks or other accommodations for his men. He could not hire any existing buildings, for the owners would not let them to him, and he could not erect new ones, for the carpenters and builders, much as they were suffering for want of employment, could not be induced to work for him.

He commenced fortifying the neck of the peninsula on which Boston is situated, and which was then the only means of communication, except by

boats, with the main land ; though now the waters on every side, except toward the harbor, are crossed by a multitude of long and costly bridges. General Gage's plan was to throw up a line of intrenchments across the neck, to prevent any force which might be raised in the country from gaining admission to the town. He finally succeeded in accomplishing this work, mainly through the labor of his own soldiers, for none of the laborers of Boston, or of the neighboring towns, could be found to render any aid.

OPEN RUPTURE BETWEEN GOVERNOR GAGE AND THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

It was in the month of June that Governor Gage dissolved the Massachusetts general assembly, as related in the last chapter. In the fall of the year he issued writs, according to the usual custom, authorizing the towns to elect members of a new assembly, which was to meet on the fifth of October. But before that time arrived the governor became alarmed at the increasing discontent of the people, and at the evident preparation that they were making for open resistance, and he accordingly issued a proclamation suspending the writs and forbidding the meeting.

The people determined to pay no attention to

this proclamation. The governor had a right, they admitted, to authorize elections and appoint a time for the meeting of the assembly,—and also to adjourn or dissolve it, when it had once been convened. But he had no power, they claimed, after having once issued the writs, to prevent the members from being chosen, or from coming together and organizing the assembly.

So the elections were held, and the assembly was convened at the appointed time. The governor did not appear, nor did he, as required by usage or law, send any message. The body then resolved themselves into “a provincial congress,” and after regularly organizing themselves in that capacity, they proceeded to act as the legislature of the province, without paying any attention to the governor whatever.

VIGOROUS MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts thus constituted, began at once to prepare for the impending struggle with great boldness and vigor. They appointed a committee to consider and propose a plan for the immediate defence of the province. They made arrangements for the enlistment of men to form an army. The persons thus enlisted were to be ready at a minute's warning to

appear in arms. They were called *minute men* on this account. They also appointed officers to command these men, and constituted a counsel of safety to carry these arrangements into effect, and also a committee of supplies, to devise and execute proper measures for procuring the necessary military stores and munitions of war.

ATTEMPTS ON BOTH SIDES TO SECURE ARMS AND AMMUNITION.

The first object which the two parties to any civil contest endeavor to attain, when they find that open hostilities are inevitable, and that the time for the commencement of them is drawing near, is to secure, each for itself, the control of all the arms and ammunition within reach. The attempts made with this view in the present case, on the one hand by the military forces of Great Britain, and on the other by the colonial authorities, led first to several bloodless military collisions, and finally to a decided battle at Lexington, in Massachusetts, and thus to the opening of the war.

The first thing done by the British government, to secure arms for themselves and deprive the colonies of the means of procuring them, was to prohibit absolutely the exportation of any arms or munitions of war from Britain to America.

As soon as news of this edict arrived in Amer-

ica, the people of Rhode Island immediately made arrangements for procuring arms and ammunition elsewhere. A number of people also organized themselves into a band, and seized forty pieces of cannon, the armament of a battery for the defence of the harbor, and removed them into the interior.

In New Hampshire too, a company of four hundred men were secretly organized under the leadership of a celebrated lawyer, to seize and secure the powder in the fort at Portsmouth. They succeeded in surprising the fort and taking possession of it. They made prisoners of the whole garrison and kept them confined until they had taken all the powder from the magazine and carried it away.

AFFAIR OF THE DRAWBRIDGE AT SALEM.

Nor were the attempts to seize and secure munitions of war confined altogether to the Americans. General Gage, having learned by some means that the Americans had collected a quantity of military stores in or near Salem, determined to send an expedition to seize them. It would be imprudent to attempt to march the force to the spot, by land, as the people would in that case certainly give the alarm, and the stores might be removed, or a number of armed men be collected, sufficient to prevent the seizure of them.

A FORCE SENT BY WATER.

Accordingly, General Gage made arrangements to send a detachment to Salem by water along the coast. The detachment consisted of a hundred and forty men. It was put under the command of Colonel Leslie. The men were embarked secretly on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, on board a transport, from Castle William. The vessel proceeded with them to Marblehead, where they were landed, and were then at once marched to Salem. There they learned that the stores were in the interior, in Danvers, and to reach them, there was a bridge to cross, which traversed an arm of the sea, and was fitted with a draw, to allow vessels to pass up and down. Colonel Leslie at once proceeded with his command to this bridge.

PREPARATIONS FOR OPPOSING THEIR PROGRESS.

In the mean time the alarm had been given, and when the Colonel reached the bridge he found the draw up, and a number of men upon the bridge beyond it. Leslie ordered these men to let down the draw. They refused to do so, and the Colonel found himself quite in a dilemma. He obviously had no authority to order private citizens to let down a drawbridge, and still less any right to fire

upon them, for refusing to do so : and there was apparently no other way of reaching them, except by his bullets.

Just at this moment, however, his men perceived some boats upon the shore near by, and this at once suggested the idea of taking a party of soldiers across the water to the other end of the bridge, in order that they might let down the draw. The command was given and the men made a movement toward the boats. But before they reached them the bystanders that had collected made a rush, and with axes and clubs broke holes in the bottoms of the boats, so as to render them utterly useless.

Colonel Leslie and his men were greatly irritated and incensed at this conduct ; but there was nothing that they could do. It was yet nominally a time of peace, and soldiers in time of peace could not shoot down private citizens for destroying their own boats.

By this time, although it was Sunday and most of the people were away from their homes, at meeting, as they called it, still a great many persons had been drawn to the spot, and their numbers had been rapidly increasing. Many of them brought with them such arms as they found ready at hand, and they began soon to assume something like a military organization, under the leadership of a prominent man among them, Colonel Picker-

ing. The parties thus stood face to face, at opposite ends of the bridge, and on the adjacent shores, and a conflict seemed every moment impending. Colonel Leslie demanded that the people should let down the bridge, while Colonel Pickering and those with him refused to do so.

A COMPROMISE.

While things were in this state, the Rev. Mr. Barnard, one of the ministers of Salem, who it seems had followed his congregation to the scene of the difficulty, interposed between the two parties, and succeeded after a little time in effecting a compromise—one, however, which, though intended as a salvo to the military honor of the troops, must have been anything but gratifying to Colonel Leslie and his soldiers. The Colonel absolutely refused to turn back without first crossing the bridge. It was wholly incompatible with his ideas of the honor of the flag that a British military expedition should be headed off and repulsed by a mob of civilians, in an attempt on cross a river. He insisted absolutely on passing the bridge,—but that being done he was willing, he said, to abandon the expedition, and return to his vessel at Marblehead.

To this Colonel Pickering and those with him agreed. They allowed to the troops thirty paces beyond the



ARREST OF THE DANVERS EXPEDITION.

bridge, as the limit of their advance on the other side. They measured and marked this distance, and took their station beyond it, and then the bridge was let down.

Colonel Leslie marched his troops over, and then immediately returned across the bridge, and marched back to Marblehead. It is difficult, however, to understand how a British officer could find any relief from the mortification of his discomfiture, by so vain and empty an indulgence as this, which the negotiations of the minister procured for him.

THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

The next attempt made by the military to seize the munitions of war held in store by the colony, led to much more serious consequences. It resulted in a battle between the troops and the people, which continued in one form or another for several hours, and was accompanied with a serious loss of life, and which was the commencement of open war. This conflict was the celebrated battle of Lexington.

The stores in question were at Concord a town about twenty miles to the north-westward of Boston. General Gage organized a force of about eight hundred men to go out and seize them. The arrangements were made on the eighteenth of April, and the expedition was to be sent off that night, at mid-

night in boats,—for there were then no bridges connecting the peninsula on which Boston is built with main land. Every precaution was taken to keep the intended movement a profound secret, in order to prevent the people of the country from taking the alarm and either removing the stores, or making arrangements for defending them.

THE SECRET DISCOVERED.

The Americans, however, in some way discovered what was going on, and early in the evening they sent two men in a boat across the water to alarm the people. The names of these men were Paul Revere and William Dawes.

The consequence was that when the British troops began to draw near to Lexington, which was the first town that came in their way on the road to Concord, they heard drums beating and bells ringing, and when they entered the village they found there about a hundred men drawn up on the green to oppose them.

THE RESULT.

After a short skirmish during which eight of their number were killed, the Americans dispersed, and concealed themselves in the woods and among the houses as well as they could, while the British

resumed their march to Concord. They found, however, that the alarm had preceded them, and a large portion of the stores had been removed. The men and boys had hastily loaded them on teams, and then, making the oxen run, the boys running by the side of them and urging them on, they conveyed them to places of concealment in the woods. Such as there had not been time to remove, the troops destroyed, and then, after some skirmishing with the Americans, in which several were killed, they set out on their return.

THE TROOPS GREATLY HARASSED ON THEIR RETURN.

The news of what had taken place at Lexington and Concord spread like wild-fire among all the neighboring towns, and the people everywhere seized their arms, organized themselves into companies, and hastened to the line of the road which the troops must take in returning, to intercept and harass them on their march. They fired at them from behind trees and stone walls, and lay in ambush for them at every turn. They followed them up so closely as not to allow them a moment's rest, and worried them with so galling and incessant a fire that they became in the end almost entirely exhausted; and indeed, it was thought that they would have been entirely cut off and the whole body captured if

General Gage had not sent out a strong force to meet and rescue them. By the assistance of this force they succeeded in getting back to Charlestown, though with a loss of nearly a quarter of their number.

THE RESULT.

The battle of Lexington was the commencement of open war. The history of the military operations which ensued, and which resulted in the establishment of American Independence, will form the subject of the next volume of this series.

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